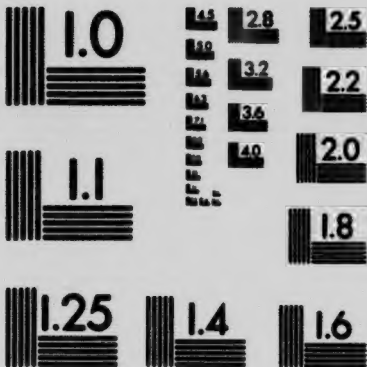




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"TIME FOR A CHANGE"

" Ring out the old,
Ring in the new;
Ring out the false,
Ring in the true."

ONTARIO ELECTIONS, 1902

**Machine Rule Under the Thirty
Year Old Government**



The Record

AND

Platform..

OF THE

**CONSERVATIVE
OPPOSITION**

**Development, Progress, Reform
And Popular Freedom**

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TIME FOR A CHANGE

A Prominent Liberal Leader Condemns Thirty Year Old Governments

Attorney-General Longley, the Liberal leader in Nova Scotia, makes a strong argument in favor of a change in Government, and against the continuance in office of one set of rulers for a long period. He says:—

"Under a system of popular Government it goes without the saying that frequent changes of Administration are necessary to a healthy development of public affairs.

"Frequent changes of Administration are obvious, as has been said, in the public interest. It is impossible for any body of men to be in power for a continuous period without getting ideas of public duty. That is the innate tendency of mankind.

The Divine Right to Rule

"Besides, long terms of office induce the members of Government to get the notion that they not only have a divine right to rule, but that instead of being servants and trustees they are actually the masters, and all favors are to come from them. This is subversive of the whole theory of popular government, and it is in the interest of the people to have it clearly understood that Governments are not heaven-appointed rulers, but mere instruments of power subject to the will and control of the electorate.

Affairs "In a Rut"

"Again, long terms of office tend to get public matters running in a rut. A department gets mouldy in time under one management, unless, indeed, the administrator is a man of more than ordinary wisdom and capacity, which is not too often the case. Frequent changes are necessary in order that new ideas and fresh energy be infused.

Danger of Bureaucracy

"Once more; the civil service is enormously benefited by changes in the administration. The tendency of all administrations is in the direction of bureaucracy. Red tape grows in proportion to the length of the period of uninterrupted rule. The members composing the civil service are chosen by the political party in power, either solely for political services or with that element in the appointment. In course of time the civil service thus becomes a hive of partisans, gradually gaining the impressions that the world was made for the saints, and that they are the saints.

Both Sides Should Have a Chance

"But there is yet another cogent reason for frequent changes of Government. Both political parties contain their quota of able and ambitious men, who exercise a wide and powerful influence upon their political followers. These men have ideas of government which could with advantage be put to the test of experience. It is unfortunate for the country to be deprived of the advantages of the services of all its capable men. Affairs are kept active by the changes which are constantly occurring, and both parties have a common interest in the good government of the country."

THE NECESSITY FOR A CHANGE

A Government that Has Tampered with the Ballot-Box and with the Con- stitution Must Go

The tenth General Election of members to the Legislature of Ontario is close at hand, and the electors must decide into whose hands the affairs of this great Province shall be committed during the next four years. It is now generally known and believed that if the election machinery had been fairly administered at the last contest in 1898, and if the ballots had been honestly counted, there would have been a change of Government. There is to-day no sort of doubt in the mind of any intelligent man that the popular will in 1898 decided that "it was time for a change." The Government that pulled through in 1898 by methods which no honest Liberal cares to defend, is far weaker in 1902 than it was then. Independent men of both parties are convinced even more strongly than ever that "it is time for a change." The result rests with the electors.

The Opposition Position

The Opposition, led by Mr. J. P. Whitney, a clean, honorable and straightforward public man, appeal with confidence to the best judgment of Ontario. Long and unjust exclusion from power has never caused the Opposition to lose confidence in their own Province, to decry its prosperity, or to neglect its interests.

They have vigilantly guarded popular rights.

They have from time to time offered measures and suggestions for bettering the administration of affairs, and for remedying the crying evils that a set of politicians long in office have failed to correct.

There is not a branch of Provincial Administration in which they have not a distinct and business-like policy.

Their ideas and proposals on such great subjects as the Progress and Development of Agriculture, the adoption of Manhood Franchise, the building up of our Lumber Industries, and other matters, have been appropriated (usually in the wrong way) by the shallow, time-serving politicians now clinging to office, and palmed off as their own.

The Opposition have never ceased to raise a warning voice against the unnecessary increase of direct taxation, the inaccurate and misleading presentation of our finances in the official records, the wasteful mismanagement of our resources, and, particularly, during the past four years, the dangerous violation of both spirit and letter of the constitution.

There is not a parliamentary Opposition in any portion of the British Empire, which has shown a better spirit under undeserved and dishonest defeat, not one which has had to fight methods so glaringly unfair or so deliberately subversive of every right principle of Government.

They appeal to the electors of Ontario for British fair play. They stand for honesty, economy, and enterprise in public affairs, and they are satisfied that the public conscience is fully aroused and will respond to their appeal.

The Government Record

What is the record of the Government now asking for another term?

They have been 30 years in office. Their lease of power has been so long

and their methods of enlarging it so demoralizing that they have grown to think that Ontario exists for themselves and their families, and that the taxpayers have no other business than to provide a comfortable living for the New Family Compact.

They have used the Liberal party of Ontario as a means of holding office, until the prestige of that party has been seriously injured and the good name of the Province, the premier province of this Dominion, is held in contempt in other parts of Canada as the home of corrupt electoral methods and a scandalous manipulation of the machinery of the law unheard of in any other British country.

They have centered in themselves many of the powers rightfully belonging to the municipalities of the province, and have employed the public patronage to create an army of office-holders, too many of whom are active partizans instead of being impartial servants of the general public, whose money provides the salaries.

They have divided the constituencies by more than one gerrymander so as to make a fair fight difficult, and in trying to effect this result they have not hesitated to cut townships in two so that the will of the majority may be stifled.

It is not by such means could a term of thirty years of office have been secured, so a deliberate system of bedeviling the election machinery has been resorted to, and the electors have been deprived of the chief privilege of British citizenship—a free and honest election fairly and impartially conducted without respect to the fortunes of one party or the other.

Tampering with the Constitution

A late development in this long career of political back-sliding is the policy of tampering with the existing constitution in a manner so extraordinary that even life long Liberals have rubbed their eyes in amazement and refused to approve of what has been done in their name by a knot of paltry leaders who seem to forget that they owe something to the loyalty and support of the rank and file of the party.

Two examples of this violation of the constitution for the sole benefit of the politicians in office have occurred in the last year or so. Ontario has power under the British North America Act to change its constitution, subject to a certain limitation. There is, consequently, a regular and proper way of changing the constitution. To pass Acts, however, which evade, subvert and nullify the existing constitution, without changing it, is simply the work of political tricksters and quite unworthy of any responsible public men.

During the session of 1901 the Ross Government introduced and passed an Act providing that the 1902 session of the Legislature, which according to the constitution expired on March 29, 1902, should not so expire, but that the House if in session should continue in existence until it was adjourned and for ten days thereafter. This bold attempt to set aside the constitution and extend the natural term of the Legislature called forth strong expressions of condemnation from all quarters. If the term of the Legislature for one session could thus be prolonged in defiance of the plain letter and spirit of the constitution, why could it not be prolonged indefinitely, say for another four years, thus depriving the electors of their constitutional right to vote in a general election upon the policy and conduct of Ministers? This measure is a fitting illustration of the kind of politicians that now rule Ontario. In order to avert a political danger visible only to their guilty consciences, they would stop at nothing. They failed to see anything improper in the measure and all the so-called Liberal members in the House voted for it. What did they care that the constitution distinctly provided for a Legislature lasting from a certain date in 1898 to a certain date in 1902? They were afraid that their own bad legislation might cause the opposition to obstruct proceedings so that the House would not be able to get through its business in 1902 by the date set for dissolution, and, therefore, they altered the law to meet a possible political embarrassment. But the opposition are not obstructionists. The House was allowed to conclude its labors previous to March 29th, so that this discreditable

law was never used, and stands as a monument to the character and policy of the present Government. It is mild language to say that the Act is a disgrace to the Statute book, is opposed to all the avowed principles and professions of the Liberal Party, and is in itself sufficient cause to defeat the Government.

Another of the offences in constitution-tampering committed by these men, is in employing the referendum to dodge Government responsibility on the temperance question. A more striking example of political cowardice must be sought in vain. Ontario having power to alter its institution, could adopt the referendum as a new feature in our system for obtaining the verdict of the electorate on measures passed by the Legislature. True, it would be a radical departure from the British model of responsible government we have, but Ontario could if it wished, discard the present system, and try another. Did the Ministers propose such a thing? No, they selected one question on which they proposed to shirk distinct pledges, and passed it on to the people to decide by means of a referendum. They invoked the referendum—just as they employed the Act prolonging the life of the House, to suit a particular contingency, and tide over a difficulty peculiar to the present Government, and in no respect justifying the evasion of the plain constitutional manner of proceeding.

Both these enactments are clearly antagonistic to the spirit and letter of the Constitution of Ontario. It is hard to conceive of any Conservative or indeed any Liberal statesmen of the first rank resorting to such unworthy lines of policy. The only useful purpose they have served is to rouse the thinking independent people of the province to a realization of the dangers of a 30 year term of office and the depths to which our political system may be dragged if a change is not speedily effected.

SOME POINTS OF MR. WHITNEY'S POLICY

**Development, Progress and Reform in Every
Branch of the Public Service**

THE PEOPLE TO RULE IN FUTURE

Mr. J. P. Whitney, the great leader of the people, in a recent speech enunciated several points in the policy he intended to pursue. He mentioned the following planks as contributing to the people's reform:—

Law Reform

"Divest the Division Court of many of the anomalies which now hamper its usefulness. Lessen the expenses and expedite the results of litigation, and provide

without further delay one final and conclusive provincial appeal from a trial judge."

The Ross Government has tried for four years to meet the popular demand for a reduction in the cost of litigation, but has failed, owing to its lack of ability to deal with such a great question. Mr. Whitney intends to take hold of the subject, and by simplifying procedure, to save the money of the people.

New Ontario

"The development of the unsettled parts of the Province and its resources, as hitherto anticipated by the Opposition, should be proceeded with, and the people of the Province will not object to any reasonable expenditure. A railway to the Temiscamingue district should be added."

New Ontario has been neglected. Premier Ross has described it as a country with "an unfavorable climate and somewhat barren." Mr. S. 'ton, speaking at Westwood, declared that it was "sterile." Mr. Clergue says when he came to Canada the Ministers had "no great confidence in the country's resources," there was not a public man in either Government who possessed the knowledge relative to the resources of the country that he had gathered." The *Algoma Pioneer* says it has struggled for a quarter of a century to persuade the Government to realize the great natural wealth of New Ontario, but it has been all in vain.

Colonization has been practically without attention.

The mining laws, according to Mr. William McAdam, Mining Engineer, are "rotten," and are devised to prevent development.

The timber system, until Mr. Whitney forced the Government to correct it, was arranged especially to enable the mills of Michigan to run, while those of Ontario were closed.

The great pulp wood resources are now given away gratuitously to syndicates, no less than 15,600 square miles having been ceded for nothing.

Millions of acres have been granted to railway companies to own and sell.

Great work, looking to the progress of New Ontario, needs to be done.

Railway Grants

"Grants to railways should only be made for development or colonization purposes, and in such cases only after careful examination into the merits of each application. In every case security should be taken for the amount advanced, and freight and passenger rates should be controlled by the Local Legislature. If moneys granted by the legislature by way of bonus to local railways are to be paid back to such provinces by the Dominion Government, Ontario must insist upon justice being done her in the same way."

Many millions of dollars and millions of acres of land have been given away to railways. In other provinces all railway grants are secured from Ottawa. We give our own money and our own land for railways; and then the two 'Liberal' Governments—that at Ottawa and that at Toronto—compel us to pay again for railways in the Maritime Provinces and in Quebec. Mr. Whitney will protect the interests of the Ontario taxpayer. While aiding development, he will stand by the people.

Minerals

"Substantial encouragement should be given to the development and refining of our several minerals, in order to hasten the time when we can insist that the entire process of refining be carried on here instead of in a foreign country."

Ontario's mineral law prevents the prospector from discovering and develop-

ing mines. Mr. McAdam, mining engineer, pronounces it "rotten." He says that when minerals are found, and application for the location is made to the Department, the discoverer does not get the allotment, but it goes to a Government favorite. This is to be stopped. In addition, Mr. Whitney proposes the erection of smelting works to encourage mining and its allied industries.

Our Timber Resources

"Stock should be taken of our timber resources, in order to ascertain with reasonable exactness the amount and area of our timber wealth, so that the people may be in a position to judge of the course pursued by the Government and Legislature with reference to the most valuable areas. Included in this is the great pulp wood wealth, which should be dealt with as far as possible on the same principle as our timber, and should be disposed of openly by public competition. It is hardly necessary to say that the policy of the Opposition regarding saw logs, which has brought such beneficial results, must be continued."

There is to be no more timber for Michigan, and pulp lands are to be sold at auction, as in Quebec. Our raw material is to be used for home industry, and not for foreign industry. The pulp wood resources of the Province are to put revenue into the Treasury, instead of into the pockets of speculators. The revenue is to be employed in aiding agriculture, education, and development all along the line.

The Finances

"The financial position of the Province is the key to the situation. With her extensive resources the problem of the provincial finances can be easily solved, leaving the way clear for such increased expenditure in agriculture and education, as may be found necessary and desirable, and this result can be arrived at without periodically selling timber limits or, in other words, capital stock, to cover up an anticipated deficit, caused by the excess of annual expenditure over annual income."

The "surplus" has gone, and a debt of \$5,800,000 has been incurred. If this extravagance and debt be dropped there will be money to devote to the purposes of the people, and particularly if in addition the Treasury gets, as it will under Mr. Whitney, money that is now wasted upon speculators.

Aid to Agriculture

"Grants for agricultural purposes should be increased, especially looking forward to the early establishment of additional agricultural schools."

Ontario's farming industry is a most valuable asset. Everything should be done that can be done to promote its interests. The Conservatives, under Sir John Carling, established the Agricultural College. This institution serves a good purpose; but there is much yet to be done for farming. All the European countries have agricultural schools in which the elements of agriculture are taught to the young, thus helping the farmer in the training of his sons, and implanting in the sons a love for farming that it is desirable they should have. Mr. Whitney proposes to initiate agricultural education, and thus to promote the best methods in agriculture. This will add to the value of the farms and to the profit derivable by their owners from their produce.

Cheaper Transportation

"We should co-operate heartily with the Dominion Government in improving the facilities for the transportation of our food products, and our Department of

Agriculture should, without further delay, address itself to the breed of our cattle in order that we may obtain a market in Great Britain for dressed beef, and allow the dressed beef of Dakota to find a market without our assistance."

If spurred up by Ontario, the Government at Ottawa can secure a reduction in rates. It is a pity that the Ross Government voted down the proposal by the Opposition to co-operate with the Dominion Government on the transportation question. Cheaper facilities, as proposed by Mr. Whitney, will give the Ontario farmer a better market and a larger return for his labor.

The Government of Mr. Whitney can do much towards securing the best breed of cattle for beef-producing purposes. By so doing it will place our dressed beef in a position to compete with the Armour's and Swifts of Chicago. This is a better policy than that of Mr. Dryden, who has opened a ranche in Dakota to take off young cattle, to fatten them there, and to build up the Chicago beef interest.

Education

"The public school curriculum must be so changed and framed that the 95 per cent. of our children who cannot go farther than the public school will there receive the best possible education suited to their needs, and having regard specially to the fact that their education begins and ends in the public schools. Under the present system, the individuality of the pupil and the moulding of character are entirely lost sight of in favor of the machine-like system of written examinations, the effect of which in our system is, as Principal Crant aptly and significantly observes, "to cramp the mind and destroy the vitality." The teachers of the province should be called upon to contribute from their very valuable experience by choosing from among themselves members for a consultative body, which will represent the combined wisdom of the best qualified men in the province and whose advice will be at the command of the Minister. The urgent need of the University of Toronto should be dealt within no niggardly spirit. The university should be put upon a sound, stable and permanent footing, and delay will in this respect be the sure forerunner of further stagnation and decay. As already indicated, the claims of Queen's University must be considered in no captious or technical spirit, and having regard to the great educational work which it has performed and will perform in the future. The burden imposed upon the people by the frequent changes and high prices of school books must be lightened."

Grave complaints are made with respect to the public school system, all of which arise from the "one man control." Mr. Whitney proposes reform and efficiency in the interests of the public and the teaching profession. By the establishment of a consultative committee of experts a modern and elastic system, meeting the needs of the people and removing the complaints, will be established. The school book rings and monopolies created by Mr. Ross when he was Minister of Education will be dealt with in order that the pupil may have good and cheap books.

The Municipal System

"Owing to the neglect of the Government, the volume of municipal law has become cumbrous, involved and unweildy, and should be thoroughly condensed and revised. The most crying evil in our municipal system to-day is the very unsatisfactory condition of our assessment law. For some time the Government has, for reasons already indicated, encouraged a scheme of assessment which would unduly favor certain corporations at the expense of the ordinary ratepayer,

the last step towards the accomplishment of which was taken when the Premier introduced the bill containing the monstrous proposition enabling municipal councils to exempt from taxation the property of certain corporations for three years at a time without the consent of the ratepayers. The fact that the leader of a Government dared to submit such legislation, coupled with the fact that he carefully refrained from alluding to it when before the people, is a significant indication of the position of the Government with relation to the great corporations, and a startling intimation to the ratepayers of the province of the dangers that confront them. Will the ratepayers quietly submit or will they give their assistance to the Opposition, so that this question may be settled once and forever in their favor?"

The municipal law is so muddled that few people can understand it. It must be simplified. The new county council system has given rise to serious complaints. It has separated the interests of the township and county councils without producing any corresponding benefit. It will need consideration in the public interests. The assessment law has been manipulated in the interests of large corporations. That must be stopped. The individual taxpayer must have his rights.

Ballot-Stealing

"While the moral sense of the people of Ontario will, no doubt, soon speak in unmistakable tones and render it very difficult, if not impossible, for a government ever again to hold power by virtue of the ballot box and the destruction of the evidence of guilt, or to stand between the actual perpetrators of these crimes and their just punishment, yet legislation must be had to render collusion between such criminals and the beneficiaries of the crimes impossible in the future."

This is a most important proposition. The sacred right of the franchise has been invaded by the government machine. Ballot boxes have been stuffed; elections have been stolen; and the right of the people to express their opinions and to rule has been denied. Nobody has been punished. The repetition of the crimes is thus encouraged. Mr. Whitney intends to put an end to the machine and its frauds and to give the elector, Conservative, Liberal or Independent, the right to exercise his franchise freely and the protection of the state in so doing.



A RECORD OF FAILURE

Mr. G. W. Ross and His Long Series of Broken Promises

On November 14, 1899, at Whitby, Mr. G. W. Ross delivered his programme speech as Premier of Ontario. He had supplanted Hon. A. S. Hardy, and he represented in his Whitby speech that his government, which was composed of all but two of the old members, was a "new" one. The "policy" proposed by Mr. Ross in his speech was intended to be "catchy." It is worth while to examine it and to see what he has done.

Promise to Punish Election Thieves

Mr. Ross began with a promise that he would punish the election thieves. He said:

"We propose that they shall be punished after fair trial as the law elects. and that punishment shall fall on Liberals and Conservatives alike."

This promise was fulfilled thus:

B. J. GILLIGAN, Crown Lands Agent at Mattawa, swore at the trial of the election petition against Mr. John Loughrin, member for Nipissing, that he had bought whiskey that was corruptly used on election day, and that he had hired teams to bring electors to the polls contrary to the law. He added: "I owe about \$75 in Papineau township, all spent for illegal purposes. I owe \$25 in Cameron township spent for corrupt practices." Gilligan was not tried or punished, but was restored to his office as Crown Lands Agent.

W. T. R. PRESTON, formerly librarian of the Legislature at \$1,800, conducted the West Elgin and other campaigns for Mr. Ross; appointed by the Ottawa Government Immigration Agent in London, salary \$3,000 and expenses; more recently appointed Commissioner of Immigration to Great Britain at \$5,000.

L. BROWN, Sheriff of Elgin, conducted West Elgin election as returning officer; no prosecution; he retains his office.

DUNCAN BOLE, charged with switching ballots in West Elgin, prosecuted by defrauded electors. The Government refused to assist. He got off.

ALBERT BOSSARD bought votes in North Waterloo; reported by judges who said "that Bossard was a party to audacious and reckless bribery, is proved beyond question and is not denied;" not prosecuted; rewarded with a liquor license at Penetanguishene.

TOM LEWIS reported for bribery in North Waterloo; not prosecuted.

JAMES G. PRITCHETT, confessed to have stuffed ballot-boxes in West Elgin and to having done illegal work for Mr. John Dryden in South Ontario, also to having been engaged to teach Government agents how to "stuff" ballot-boxes and to switch and spoil ballots; paid \$200 per month to live in the United States, and not prosecuted. He challenges prosecution and Government declines to proceed.

THOMAS COLEMAN, introduced bogus deputy returning officer for appointment in West Elgin; appointed license inspector for West Elgin.

Promise of Development

Mr. Ross promised to develop the province, more particularly the newer districts.

This promise has been fulfilled by the giving away of 15,600 square miles of territory to seven pulp wood companies for nothing, and by the proposal to build, not at the expense of the Dominion, but of that of Ontario, the Temiscamingue railway at a cost to the taxpayers of this province of \$2,234,000.

Two and a half million acres of land have been given to one railway and \$1,000,000 has been granted in subsidies to other roads.

Agricultural Policy

Mr. Ross said he had an agricultural policy. He declared:

"We must endeavor to develop the resources of old Ontario by means of the Agricultural Department of the province. If Mr. Dryden is not prepared to give his whole energies, if he is not prepared to throw all his force into the agricultural development of the province of Ontario, let me tell you—and it is no secret—I will have to get a new Minister of Agriculture."

Nothing new has been done. The Government has bitterly opposed Mr. Whitney's proposition to establish agricultural schools, and Mr. Dryden, who was to give "his whole energies to the development of agriculture in Ontario," has opened a cattle ranche in Dakota. Mr. Pettypiece, the Liberal M. P. for East Lambton, says: "Mr. Dryden has thus given agriculture in Ontario a blow that the people can hardly be expected to tolerate." "It is beyond the power of tongue or pen to fully offset the bad effect of Mr. Dryden's actions and the people of Ontario, irrespective of party, will be doing only what their duty to their country requires, if they ask him to resign his portfolio and step down and out. His usefulness as a Minister of Agriculture, in the highest sense of the word, is gone."

Drainage of Swamp Lands

Mr. Ross said he would drain all the swamp lands in the province.

"We have three million acres of swamp lands. We hope to project a system whereby these three million acres may be properly drained."

Nothing practical has been done on this subject.

Cold Storage

Mr. Ross said he would have cold storage stations all over the province, so that the farmer might store his fruit and poultry until the market price was high.

A law was passed enabling municipalities to do this. In the Legislature it was announced that one municipality had taken advantage of the law; but that it had a cold storage plant already.

Transportation

Mr. Ross announced that he would compel the Dominion Government to provide quick and cheap transportation for our produce to England. He said:

"When the Legislature of Ontario asks they must move, because more than one-half the influence of this country lies in Ontario."

Nothing has been done. When Mr. Crawford introduced his resolution calling upon the Dominion Government to secure cheaper rates for our farmers, Mr. Ross rose in the Legislature and voted against it, on the ground that Ontario had nothing to do with the subject!

Chilled Meat

Mr. Ross announced that he would establish a dead meat trade with England,

to which Ontario would supply the beef and mutton now supplied by the Armour and Swifts of Chicago. This promise was repeated in a speech at Welland.

At once Mr. William Davies, a Liberal, replied in the papers that Mr. Ross did not know what he was talking about, and that he ought first to apply himself to the raising of the necessary cattle.

Nothing has been done except what Mr. Dryden has done. This Minister has opened his ranche in Dakota, and he explains that he proposes to send stockers there to be fattened and afterwards sold in Chicago to the Armour and Swifts, whose trade Mr. Ross was going to get for us.

Working up our Raw Material

Mr. Ross made this further promise :

"We propose, as far as we can, to insist that all the raw material of Ontario shall be manufactured in Ontario."

Nothing has been done in this direction. The only propositions looking to the manufacturing of our raw material in this province came from the Opposition, when the cutting of our own lumber and the refining of our own nickel was demanded ; and the Government opposed them both.

The "Policy" a Fraud

The Ross policy is a deliberate imposture. There is nothing in it except the giving away of pulp lands, agricultural lands and subsidies in money for nothing and with corrupt intent.

THE PROVINCIAL EXPENDITURE

Premier Ross Wants to Tax the Farmer.

Of great importance to the people of Ontario is the question of the provincial finances. If the finances are well managed there need be no fear of direct taxation. On the other hand if they are badly managed and debts are incurred there will be direct taxation.

In some of the other provinces direct taxes are already laid on. Quebec levies a tax upon everybody who is in business in the province. This is the result of the extravagance of a Liberal Government. Manitoba, until the Conservatives, under Hon. Hugh John Macdonald took office, required every municipality to contribute to the provincial expenses. At the last session of the Legislature the Conservative treasurer, owing to the excellent condition of affairs brought about by his careful management, was able to abolish these taxes. In Prince Edward Island the Liberals make every farmer pay according to the acreage he has under

cultivation. The rate is fifty cents an acre and if a farmer owns a hundred acres he pays fifty dollars. In British Columbia there is a poll tax of \$2 per head. A farmer with five children has to pay for his family \$14 annually into the provincial chest.

We have been able to sell a vast area of Crown property, such as timber limits, and have thus had a revenue without resorting to direct taxes. In addition the first Government of Ontario was very careful and as a result rolled up a surplus of \$3,815,000. That Conservative nest egg has helped to ward off the provincial tax-collector. But of late the expenses have grown rapidly and a debt has been laid on. The Government has made its increased outlays by encroaching upon municipal revenues and taking corporation taxes from the municipalities and placing them in the provincial treasury.

To Tax the Farmers

A new proposition looking to further encroachment upon municipal receipts, was made during the last session of Legislature by Mr. Pettypiece, M.P.P. for East Lambton, at the instigation of the Government. Mr. Pettypiece wants all the taxes now collected by the municipalities to be collected by the Government and returned to the municipalities less twenty per cent. which the Government is to retain for itself. This scheme will take from the people one-fifth of the money the cities, towns and counties now collect from railways, electric roads, telegraph and telephone companies and will force the farmers or the individual taxpayers to pay into the municipal treasury the amount that has been taken from it. Mr. G. W. Ross had Mr. Pettypiece's proposal postponed; but said that something of that kind would have to be done soon.

If the Ross Government takes from the people a fifth of the corporation taxes, it can also take a third, a half, or indeed all of these taxes. The move, in fact, looks towards that end. It is borrowed from the United States.

The Fraudulent "Surplus"

In view of the fact that at the last general election so much was said about the huge surplus in the Government vaults, it may seem strange that the taxing of the farmer should be in contemplation. But the statements about the so-called "surplus" have turned out to have been untruthful. The "surplus" has been put at all sorts of figures by the Government in the budget speeches, and has always been large in election years. Here are a few sample statements about the size of the "surplus," gleaned from the budgets:—

1884—Treasurer A. M. Ross	\$6,859,666
1886 " "	6,680,339
1887 " "	6,665,352
1888 " "	6,734,649
1890—Treasurer Harcourt	5,809,995
1892 " "	5,285,575
1894 " "	6,135,480
1896 " "	5,078,986
1899 " "	4,988,079

In the latter year—1899—the Government appointed a Royal Commission to prove that the "surplus" of \$4,988,079 was existence. The figures had been disputed, and the Government wanted an independent authority to say that they were true. The commission was composed of Mr. B. E. Walker, Mr. John Hoskin, and Mr. Angus Kirkland. On February 13th, 1900, it presented its report. The statement therein contained was most startling. It was shown that the "surplus" did not exist at all, and that instead of a "surplus" Ontario has a large debt. On pages 16 and 17 of the report, the facts relating to the alleged surplus are explained.

It has already been stated that the Sandfield Macdonald Government left a surplus in cash of \$3,815,000. This money has disappeared. The Dominion

bonds in which it was invested have been sold. The Royal Commission gives the following table of the value of the provincial assets and liabilities :

Assets	\$7,140,418
Liabilities	5,182,544
Balance.....	\$1,957,874

The assets, however, include an addition to the annual subsidy granted by the Dominion in 1884, and valued as worth in cash \$2,848,289. This addition to the subsidy is not negotiable. We can draw the annual interest, but not the capital itself. Deducting it from the assets—for it is not an asset—the account stands thus :—

Assets	\$4,292,129
Liabilities	5,182,874

This shows that instead of having a surplus of \$4,988,079, as falsely reported by Mr. Harcourt, we have a deficit of \$890,745. The thirty-year Government has spent the Sandfield Macdonald surplus of \$3,815,000, and has gone back \$890,745 in addition. We are worse off by \$4,705,745, than we were when this Government took hold.

Debt Instead of Surplus

It is startling to discover that all the "surplus" statements made during the past ten years were untruthful. But there is something even more startling than this to be considered. While the Ministers were boasting a surplus that did not exist they were also laying on a heavy debt and saying nothing about it.

This debt was incurred by the granting of subsidies to railways. The process is as follows. The Ontario Government says to a railway company, We will give you \$3,000 per mile as a subsidy. It does not pay the money, but gives certificates entitling the company to draw the amount with interest in half-yearly instalments covering forty years. By the time the obligation is wiped out Ontario has paid \$5,600 for every \$3,000 granted. But it is not the custom to pay the certificates when they fall due. The Government reserves to itself the right, and it exercises it freely, of borrowing the money to pay the \$5,600. This money is raised on the annuity principle. A capitalist lends the Government \$5,600 to redeem the \$3,000 railway certificate, and it repays him in half-yearly instalments with interest for forty years. By the end of forty years the Government has paid \$10,000 for the loan of \$5,600. As the various \$10,000 payments fall due, the Government borrows again on the annuity plan to meet them. This time the \$10,000 with interest costs \$17,500 to repay. Thus a \$3,000 grant to a railway costs us \$5,600, or \$10,000, or \$17,500, according to the number of loans that are made to meet it. Every railway grant means to the people a payment of at least three times the amount that goes into the railways.

In 1891 the debt stood at \$3,229,420. In 1901 it was \$5,870,040. (See Public Accounts 1901, page liv) It may be well to show from the official returns how the debt has grown. Here are the figures :—

1881	Nothing
1891	\$3,229,420
1898	5,046,911
1900.....	5,214,698
1901	5,870,040

In the year 1901, the debt was increased as a sum of subtraction will show by \$655,000. This is at the rate of \$2,000 per day.

During the past four years great expenditures have been undertaken and new subsidies have been granted. Here are the records of new expenditures and of subsidies that have been voted and have to be paid :

THE ACCOUNTS ARE COOKED

Outstanding bonuses on Dec. 31, 1899, as per return presented by Provincial Secretary.....		\$3,056,900
Subsidies voted in 1900.....		251,400
" " 1901.....		307,000
" " 1902.....		706,000
Temiscamingue Railway.....		2,234,000
Million Dollar Road Grant.....		1,000,000
		\$7,555,300

This money is pledged and will have to be paid if the enterprises go on.

In the Parliament at Ottawa during the present session Mr. Fielding announced that his Government had a claim of \$322,000 against Ontario on account of payments to Indians. This sum with interest reached \$475,000 by the end of 1893, and it has been getting larger ever since. Col. Matheson drew attention to it in the budget debate and pointed out that Premier Ross had suppressed all reference to it. Add this \$475,000 to the obligations and the sum which is coming due and which we will have to pay is \$8,030,300!

An Awful Change

Now let us see where we stand. When Sandfield Macdonald went out we had \$3,815,000 of cash in the banks or in bonds.

To-day that money is gone, and instead of having it to draw upon we have the following amounts to pay:—

Debt (Public Accounts 1901, page liv.).....	\$5,870,040
Bonuses granted and to be paid	7,555,300
Claim by Ottawa	475,000
	\$13,900,340

Our liabilities, present and prospective, stand at \$13,900,340!

What the Debt Means

The \$13,900,340 which we have to carry represents \$7 per head of the population.

But it must be borne in mind that the Ontario Government is not the only Government that is laying debt upon us.

Our municipalities have to build roads and to do a great deal in the way of public improvements. Their debt (see Bureau of Industries report for 1899, Part I., page v.) was in 1899, \$54,506,372, or \$27.11 per head.

The Dominion Government is rapidly increasing the debt. It is rebuilding the Intercolonial, and paying for Eastern Railways, and assuming the liabilities of other provinces. The last issue of the Public Accounts (page xi.) puts the net debt at \$286,480,000. This is at the rate of \$53.60 per head.

The Ontario farmer has to carry this indebtedness:—

	Per Head
Federal.....	\$53 60
Provincial	7 00
Municipal	27 11
Total	\$87 71

At five in a family, each family owes \$438.50!

Is it not time to stop and think?

Is this huge mortgage which the Ontario Government and the Ottawa Government are laying upon our farms to be allowed to grow bigger? Or shall we stop it by commencing with the Ontario Government?

Shall we allow Premier Ross to lay on direct taxation?

Cooking the Accounts

It has been shown that for years the Government has been untruthful in its

statements about "the surplus." The same policy of falsification has been pursued with regard to the annual expenditures.

The Government issued for the last election a Handbook for the Electors, showing what it had done and what it had spent. The Royal Commission examined the annual expenditures and made its report. All the figures given by the Commission are higher than those given by the Government. The Government had spent far more than it represented, and had "cooked the accounts" in order to deceive the people. Here is a table, exposing the deception. The first column is taken from the Government report, which is entitled the "Record of the Liberal Government," issued by Alexander Smith, page 168. The second column is from the Report of the Royal Commission, page 6:—

EXPENDITURES

Year	As Reported by House Government	As Reported by Royal Commission
1873	\$2,460,212	\$3,009,634
1874	2,342,339	3,883,701
1875	2,063,550	3,617,522
1876	2,155,185	3,152,365
1877	2,363,806	3,131,998
1878	2,408,534	2,914,864
1879	2,285,282	2,954,711
1880	2,243,663	2,532,166
1881	2,281,053	2,592,799
1882	2,429,554	2,931,824
1883	2,548,171	2,900,035
1884	2,870,035	3,207,889
1885	2,603,525	3,040,139
1886	2,769,978	3,181,449
1887	2,864,713	3,454,372
1888	3,007,037	3,544,834
1889	3,181,614	4,578,982
1890	3,367,685	3,907,428
1891	3,428,731	4,158,459
1892	3,411,012	4,068,257
1893	3,371,748	3,907,145
1894	2,374,380	3,839,338
1895	3,476,351	3,758,595
1896	3,415,274	3,703,379
1897	3,500,654	3,767,675

It will be noticed that the Ministers manufactured the figures for the reports to the public making them from \$1,400,000 in 1889 to a quarter of a million in 1897 less than they really were. In the history of representative Government there has never been such a case of fraud before. The prolonged misrepresentation about the surplus does not approach it for impropriety.

The Growing Outlays

With the report of the Royal Commission before us we can all see how the expenditures have grown. They stood at \$2,522,210 in 1871. They were raised to \$3,767,675 in 1897. Here is a short comparative table contrasting the Conservative outlay of 1871 with the expenditures that have been made during the past parliamentary term:—

1871	\$2,522,210
1897	3,767,675
1898	3,803,801
1899	3,710,420
1900	4,003,729
1901	4,038,834

THE ACCOUNTS ARE COOKED

It will be noticed that there is a gradual increase in the difference between 1897 and 1901, being \$371,159. That between 1871 and 1901 is rather more than \$1,500,000. For the present year the following votes were taken in the session of 1902:

Main estimates.....	\$4,001,228
Supplementaries.....	181,047
Further supplementaries.....	3,790
Railway certificates (debt).....	93,248
Annuities (debt).....	102,000
New railway subsidies.....	706,000
Temiscamingue railway.....	2,234,000
	\$7,325,073

The estimated revenue is \$4,075,000 so that there is a deficiency of \$3,240,000 in sight. This will be added to the debt which grows in the manner already described.

Last year there was a deficiency of several hundred thousand dollars which was met by adding to the debt. The figures were these:

EXPENDITURES

Ordinary.....	\$4,038,834
Railway outlays paid out of borrowed money.....	656,000
Total.....	\$4,694,834
Revenue, including \$571,000 from sale of timber limits.....	\$4,414,748
Deficit.....	\$ 280,086

Why Expenses Have Gone Up

The expenditures have grown, because there are larger outlays in every branch of the public service. Here are some illustrations:—

	1881	1901
Attorney General's Office—Salaries.....	\$11,670	\$15,266
Crown Lands Department—Salaries.....	34,950	47,970
Public Works—Salaries.....	15,552	23,450
Treasury Department—Salaries.....	13,400	24,677
Inspection of Public Institutions—Salaries.....	7,554	13,247
Registrar General—Salaries.....	5,150	7,640
Legislation—Salaries.....	10,800	15,196

The various heads under which expenditures are made afford the following comparisons:—

	1881	1901
Civil Government.....	\$174,803	\$281,135
Administration of Justice.....	251,100	416,042
Public Institutions.....	551,663	838,163
Public Buildings.....	126,552	194,607
Public Works.....	24,360	60,847
Miscellaneous.....	43,820	254,738

Direct Taxes

In view of the bad condition of the finances, the Government has taken the power to lay on direct taxes. Section 264 of the Ontario Assessment Act now says that "taxes may be levied for the purposes of the Treasurer of the province, and that such taxes shall be assessed, levied and collected by and paid over to the same persons, in the same manner and the same time as imposed for municipal purposes."

The Toronto Sun says the enormous expenditures "will have to be provided for by direct taxes levied upon the ratepayers of every municipality in Ontario. Each farmer will then find in his tax bill a levy for the Provincial Government."

Squeezing the People

Already encroachments have been made in the municipal revenues for the purposes of the Ontario Government. The first was the seizure of a large proportion of the revenue from liquor licenses. Formerly this revenue went almost entirely into the municipal treasuries. It reduced the taxation the people have to pay for local purposes. Now, under the license law, the Provincial Government takes the lion's share, and the people have to make up the deficit. Here are the figures from the Public Accounts, showing what the people have to contribute to the provincial treasury, and how the amount has grown:—

LICENSE REVENUE TAKEN BY THE ONTARIO GOVERNMENT.

1873	\$ 82,152
1877	70,651
1883	96,460
1885	163,370
1886	211,162
1898	261,523
1901	304,670

The Government takes \$200,000 additional from the municipalities or \$1,000,000 every ten years! It has since taken a share of the municipal revenue from corporations and it wants more as the Pettypiece bill shows.

A Crisis in Our History

We have reached a crisis in our history.

The surplus has gone.

A debt of \$5,800,000 has been incurred.

The debt is increasing by \$2,000 a day.

New liabilities bringing the debt up to \$13,000,340 have been added upon.

The annual expenditure has grown so large that there is a real deficit.

New taxation has already been laid upon the people through the municipal treasuries.

More direct taxation is openly threatened and power to collect it through the municipal taxpayer has been taken.

It is time to introduce sane and honest methods into our financial management. It is time for a change.



The Michigan Log Question

How the Conservatives Saved a Great Interest to Ontario

For many years Mr. G. W. Ross fought and struggled to preserve to the state of Michigan the privilege of despoiling Ontario of its natural endowment of timber, and to make it the means of affording employment for American labor and for building up American cities. Against this iniquity the Conservatives maintained a determined and continuous fight which was not concluded until the Government was compelled reluctantly to concede the measure, a protection to Ontario's interests, which the patriotism of the Opposition and of the people demanded.

So far back as 1886 a note of warning was sounded by the Opposition through its leader against allowing the exportation of logs. In London in that year it arraigned the Government for having been negligent of its duty in that it "had made no attempt to prevent, by proper conditions, the logs cut upon our timber lands from being exported." At that time the legalized American spoliation of Ontario was in its infancy, for in 1886 the exported logs to Michigan was 378,000 feet B. M., and the Michigan lumbermen were, however, reaching out for the forests of Ontario to find materials to sustain and extend their interests in that state.

Foreseeing the danger to the province of such a policy, which culminated in the export of 249,746,311 feet of logs in 1896, the Opposition moved in 1893 for efficient restrictions. Mr. Miscampbell introduced the resolution (see Legislative Assembly Journals, 1893, page 148) which declared that this House "is of opinion that the right to cut timber upon the present reserves should be sold under such conditions as will insure the manufacture of the lumber cut therefrom within the province."

Mr. Ross Opposes Ontario's Interests

Against that proposal the whole strength of the Liberal party was thrown, and foremost amongst those who stood out for the Michigan interests was Mr. G. W. Ross. He declared (see Toronto Globe report, May 19th, 1893) that the resolution was an attempt to fly in the face of public opinion. "Would the Government," said Mr. Ross, "tell the people of Ontario that it was prepared to impose such conditions of sale as would debar American millionaires from paying high prices for timber limits? The policy of honorable gentlemen opposite was 'no Americans need apply.'" Mr. Ross held that as regarded the imposition of the condition proposed that it would be a dishonorable thing for the Ontario Government to do, and a practical evasion of the understanding between the Dominion and the United States Governments. It would be a breach of faith between this and the Dominion Governments. It was better to convert the assets of the province into money than to convert them into ashes. Mr. Connec followed in the same strain. Says the Globe of his speech: "Mr. Connec had a weak structure to demolish, and he did it most successfully." Mr. Connec showed that instead of the magic springing up of cities the restrictive condition of domestic manufacture attached to sales would seriously cripple "some of the cities we already have." Thus, through the machinations of Mr. Ross, the effort of the Conservatives so far back as 1893 to arouse the Government to a sense of its duty to the country was thwarted.

Again in 1894 the same question was brought to the front by the Opposition. The Government had been warned, but had failed to accept the warning and in one year the exports of logs had risen from 39,073,000 feet B.M. to 326,432,802. Canadian mills were being closed. Michigan was booming. Accordingly Mr. Miscampbell moved (see Legislative Assembly Journals, 1894, page 131) "that this House deplores the improvidence which characterises the management and disposal of the timber upon these reserves, which has destroyed in many parts of the country the saw-milling industries which flourished there, and has transferred the business which they formerly carried on to the State of Michigan, and other states of the neighboring Republic."

On that occasion Mr. Ross again opposed the adoption of a Canadian policy. Among those who helped to vote down the resolution were:

Mr. Ross
Mr. Dryden
Mr. Gibson

Mr. Harcourt
Mr. Stratton
Mr. Conmee

Mr. Charlton
Mr. Bishop
Mr. McKay (Oxford)

Mr. Whitney's Patriotic Stand

But public opinion was not to be thwarted by these obstructionists. The Conservatives took hold of the question to make it an issue. Mr. Whitney went throughout the province pointing out the great wrong that was being done Ontario, and advocating restrictions to compel the manufacture of sawlogs into lumber in Ontario.

Then the Government held the celebrated secret interview with the Michigan lumbermen to learn what concessions to the public they would sanction. A slight concession was accorded. On September 21st, 1897, the Government passed an order-in-council declaring that lumbermen's supplies must be purchased in Canada, and that only residents of this country were to be employed by lumbermen in their operations here. The official report of the interview showed that this was merely a scheme to kill the movement, and a scheme which the lumbermen themselves had proposed. Says the report: "These gentlemen represented . . . that regulations requiring them to employ Canadian labor and purchase Canadian supplies would be quite agreeable to them."

The Conservatives, however, still pressed their policy upon the public and upon the Legislature. Again in the ensuing session they moved a resolution expressing regret that the Government "has not taken steps to compel the manufacture into lumber of all saw logs cut under licenses issued by the Department of Crown Lands." The resolution was voted down by Mr. Ross and his associates, but later on in the same session the Government made another move in the matter. It introduced a bill requiring that all licenses to cut timber should be subject to the condition of being manufactured in Ontario. There was no necessity to embody the proposal in a bill, because the Government had power (under R.S.O. chap. 28, sec. 1) to add such conditions to the licenses, but this course was taken in the hope and the expectation that the measure would be disallowed by the Federal authorities, or be declared ultra vires by the courts. Mr. Whitney then and there moved that the manufacturing condition should be forthwith imposed by the department, as already authorized by law. Against this Mr. Ross, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Davis, Mr. Dryden, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Pattullo and Mr. Stratton marshalled the Liberal forces and defeated it.

Success of Mr. Whitney's Policy

But neither the pressure for disallowance nor the attack in the courts availed against the growing policy. It went into effect after years of opposition and denunciation by the Liberals, and it went into effect in spite of them. It did not drive away the American millionaires, as Mr. Ross predicted it would, nor did it injure Canadian interests, as Mr. Conmee prophesied. On the contrary, it compelled the Michigan lumbermen to move their establishments into Canada, to employ

Canadian labor, and to use Canadian supplies. It stopped the export of logs, and made our own resources contribute to the wealth and progress of our own country.

The result to the export trade in logs has been as follows:—

	Ft. B. M.
1890	25,000,000
1891	13,632,000
1892	39,073,000
1893	326,432,802
1894	174,503,845
1895	238,053,651
1896	249,746,314
1897	210,026,825
1898	157,000,000
1899	75,000,000
1900	13,513,917
1901	3,132,000
1902	nil

In spite of this obliteration of the log export bonus the cut on Crown lands increased from 327,529,985 feet B. M. in 1896-7 to 700,266,014 in 1899-00. New mills have been established at Victoria Harbour (capacity 25,000,000 feet a year), at Midland (capacity 15,000,000 feet and 10,000,000 feet) at Sandwich; three at Sarnia (total capacity 60,000,000 feet). Besides these, which constitute only a partial list, many old mills that formerly stood idle, are now being operated. These include two at Little Current (capacity 15,000,000 and 20,000,000), one at John's Island (capacity 20,000,000), one at Kenafrith (capacity 25,00,0000), three at Parry Sound (total capacity 45,000,000).

On the other hand, Michigan, which formerly thrived on Ontario logs, has had a different experience. The *Detroit Tribune* pictures the result as follows: "From Cheboygan South all along the Huron shore there are silent mills, abandoned mill sites, and empty lumber yards, to say nothing of vacant houses and diminishing or stationary populations." Finally, adds the *Tribune*, the Saginaw Lumber and Salt Company, one of the largest remaining lumber firms, has been compelled by failing supply of raw material "to follow the others across the lake, where it must employ Canadian labor, buy Canadian supplies, and contribute to Canadian development."

All this is the outcome of the policy so long and so faithfully advocated by Mr. Whitney, and so bitterly opposed by Messrs. Ross, Gibson, Dryden, Harcourt, Davis, Stratton, Pattullo, Conmee, et al. They never liked it, adopted it only under compulsion, and would reverse it to-morrow—if they dared.



THE PULP DEALS

Great Timber Concessions Given Freely to Speculators

A feature of the Government policy which has been developed since the last election, that of 1898, is the free distribution of pulp-wood concessions among speculators.

In recent years there has been a growing demand for spruce, poplar and whitewood for the manufacture of the pulp out of which paper is made. The English paper maker has drawn his supply from the continent, chiefly Norway and Sweden. The United States manufacturer has nearly used up his own growth of pulp-wood, and is looking for more. There is a general disposition, both in England and the United States, to turn to Canada, and particularly to Ontario, where the supply of pulp-wood is very large, for the raw material for paper that is so much needed.

When the Ross Government found that pulp-wood was in demand, it proceeded at once to block the northern and western portions of the province out into spruce limits, and to give these limits away to certain favored persons, some of them Liberal politicians, who applied for them. Nearly every session of the Legislature is made famous by a pulp-wood grant. Sometimes, indeed, there are more than one in a session. The companies which receive these grants pay nothing for them. All they undertake to do is to build a mill—which they would do if they had to buy their concession—and to pay dues at the rate of forty cents a cord.

A Kingdom Given Away

Already there have been seven pulp concessions. One gives a company the exclusive right to cut pulp-wood in Keewatin. The next, coming east, gives another company the exclusive right to cut pulp-wood north of Lake Superior. This grant, in which Mr. N. W. Rowell, a stumper for the Government and a director of the Globe newspaper, is interested, is very extensive. Mr. Rowell and his colleagues can cut spruce, poplar, whitewood and jack pine over a territory that is thus described: A strip five miles wide on each side of the Nepegon River: a five mile strip around the entire coast of Lake Nepigon; a five mile strip along each side of each river emptying into Lake Nepigon. In addition Mr. Rowell has forty square miles. It is estimated that the Nepigon concession, which unfortunately cannot be measured with accuracy, owing to the twists and turns of the river and the irregularity of the lake shore, covers 2,500 square miles of territory.

The next concession, coming east, is to the Sault Ste. Marie Company, and includes an enormous region. Then we have the Spanish River concession, the Sturgeon Falls concession, the Blanche River concession, and the Montreal River Pulp and Paper Company concession. The last, which went through at the recent session, gives 1,660 square miles of territory to the concessionaires. The amount of pulp-wood territory given away by secret arrangement and without price, so far, is, approximately, as follows:—

	Square Miles
Keewatin Concession.....	1,500
Nepigon ".....	2,500
Sault Ste. Marie ".....	2,000
Spanish River ".....	4,000
Sturgeon Falls ".....	3,000
Blanche River ".....	1,000
Montreal River ".....	1,660

How Quebec Does It

We, in Ontario, have the idea that Quebec is disposed to be improvident. But that province has pulp-wood lands exactly as we have. It gives none of them away by secret bargain. Every limit is sold to the highest bidder at auction. Not only has the bidder to pay a bonus for the monopoly of the spruce, poplar and whitewood in the area put up for sale, but he has in addition to pay an annual rental of \$3 per square mile for his limit, with the dues of forty cents per cord as well.

Here is the record of a Quebec sale that took place in 1898, before pulp-wood became so valuable as it is now. The figures are taken from the Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands for 1900:—

	Area in Miles	Bonus	Ground Rent
Upper Ottawa	301 1/2	\$20,544 37	\$ 600 00
St. Maurice	790	53,412 00	2,730 00
Montmagny	82 1/2	5,073 41	255 00
Grandville	81	4,134 82	246 00
Metapedia Val.	19 1/2	1,406 00	57 00
Rimouski, E.	3 1/2	108 50	12 00
Rimouski, W.	170	16,255 75	510 00
Bonaventure, W.	29	754 00	87 00
St. Charles	38	1,388 00	114 00
Lake St. John	215	5,652 82	651 00
Saguenay	213 1/2	10,863 50	641 00
Totals	1,933 1/2	\$129,171 02	\$5,829 00

We give our property away for nothing. Quebec, for 1,933 square miles, received \$129,171 as a bonus, with \$5,829 annually as rent. Our concessions give the monopoly free for 21 years. During that period Quebec collects \$122,409 as rent. For its 1,933 square miles Quebec gets the following sums:—

Bonus ..	\$129,177
Rent	122,171
	\$251,348

If we had sold our 15,660 square miles that have been given away, for the same price that Quebec gets, our treasury would be the richer by \$2,020,140. This would have gone far towards averting the direct taxation, with which the Ross Government threatens us.

Mr. Whitney's Position

Mr. Whitney and his colleagues in the Legislature opposed the give-away system. They maintained that the estate of the province must not be distributed gratuitously, but must be sold as the timber limits are, at public competition. They also declared that the pulp area must be marked out, so that the people will know what they are selling.

It was moved accordingly by Mr. Whitney, when the first pulp deal was launched, that

"This House is of opinion that all grants of pulp-wood lands should be made subject to public competition, and that all dues on Crown timber should be regulated from time to time by this House; and this House is also of opinion that steps should be taken to enquire into the extent and nature of the timber resources of the province, in order that the members of this House may be able to form an intelligible judgment upon the subject of timber and pulp-wood dues."

This was voted down.

In the following year, when the Keewatin concession was proposed, Col. Matheson moved, seconded by Mr. Foy:

"This House is of opinion that all grants of pulp-wood lands should be made subject to public competition, and that all dues on Crown timber should be regulated from time to time by this House."

The majority voted this down also. The Government was determined to reserve to itself the right to make its secret bargains and to give away vast areas of the public domain gratuitously. Meanwhile the favored companies are preparing to make big money out of their free grants of pulp-wood rights. It was stated in the Legislature, and not denied, that one company had sold its free concession for \$600,000, and that the same concession had changed hands a second time for \$200,000 more.

Is it not about time to stop this free and secret division of the people's property? Is it not time to say that the revenue from the public territory shall go into the public chest? Is it not time for a change?

WORK FOR THE FARMER

Conservative Efforts in Behalf of the Great Industry of Agriculture

MR. WHITNEY'S ADVANCED POLICY

Ontario Farmers to Have all the Benefits that a Pushing Government Can Supply.

The interests of the farmers are paramount in the great agricultural province of Ontario. To those interests the Liberal Conservative leaders, whether in power at Toronto or at Ottawa, have always devoted themselves. Mr. Whitney, who is a farmer's son, is especially concerned in the progress and prosperity of the industry with which he has been and is so closely associated.

The Agricultural College

For the farmers the Conservatives secured the great Experimental Farm system now in operation throughout the Dominion. They also originated the Agricultural College at Guelph. Mr. Dryden, the present Minister of Agriculture, in his speeches disputed the fact that the Conservatives proposed and designed the Agricultural College and has claimed the paternity of that institution for himself. But, nine years before Mr. Dryden entered the Legislature, Sir John Carling, our first Minister of Agriculture, reported upon the subject. In the report of that Minister for 1870 will be found the original proposition. Sir John first sent Rev. W. F. Clarke of Guelph, the celebrated writer on farm questions, to various points in the United States to examine the systems there. Then he outlined his plan.

He suggested the establishment of one institution as a commencement to allow the practical experience of a few years to determine the expediency of increasing the number. He also named a list of subjects that might be taught at the college, and said that students should work on the farm or in the workshop for a certain number of hours daily. Portions of the farm should be devoted to purely experimental purposes and the breeding and management of live stock should form a prominent feature of the institution—not to compete with private breeders, but to aid them in developing the industry along the most progressive and profitable lines. In the following session the bill establishing the College was passed. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Dryden should find it necessary to misrepresent the facts.

Work of the Conservatives

The College has done important work, and to the various agencies for the promotion of agriculture, leading men have from time to time proposed additions. These have in some cases been adopted with good results. Mr. Andrew Broder for example, the former Conservative representative for Dundas, in 1883 proposed in the Legislature the adoption of the travelling dairy. Three years later, namely in 1891, the Government saw the value of the proposal and adopted it. In 1889 Mr. Whitney suggested that the knowledge acquired at the College should be spread abroad by the sending out of the graduates to address the farmers in the months of February and March. From the Opposition side of the Legislature have also come suggestions looking for the advancement of the educational interests of the farming community and the promotion of Farmers' Institutes. Mr. Whitney has urged that the time fore-shadowed in Sir John Carling's report for another step in the advancement of the interests of the farmers by the establishment of agricultural schools has come.

Agricultural Schools

That he is correct experienced agriculturalists maintain. On the continent of Europe every country has its agricultural schools. Some countries indeed have a great many.

France has hundreds of various grades from the elementary up to the highly scientific. There the young man who does not desire to enter upon the more technical studies can secure instruction in the less advanced phases of his profession. The tendency is to improve the agricultural resources of the country, to make the rising generation like and appreciate the farm, and to add to the profits and the inducements of agriculture. In the United States there is a like movement and it is taking root among the people.

Agricultural schools serving the various sections of the province and applying themselves to the class of productions most suitable there would do a world of good. Unfortunately the present Government does not approve of the further spread of agricultural knowledge. One of the papers speaking for the Government says, "Mr. Whitney's proposal deserves emphatic condemnation on its merits."

Yet it is known that it is impossible to do too much for the great farming industry and that whatever is done to secure greater results and greater remuneration to the farmer is a benefit to the entire country. While so much money is expended upon the education of lawyers and doctors why should the farmers' son be neglected?

Government Opposition

Immediately that Mr. Whitney propounded his agricultural school policy Mr. Stratton declared that the Government would fight it. Speaking at Niagara-on-the-Lake in October, 1901, Mr. Stratton said:

"Added interest to be paid to agriculture, with a view to the early establishment of further agricultural schools, was another of Mr. Whitney's visionary proposals. His scheme for half a dozen agricultural colleges was preposterous. The

expense would be enormous, and impossible to meet. This plan would involve the purchase of half a dozen farms and the erection and equipment of half a dozen more buildings and the employment of half a dozen staffs of professors. Mr. Whitney's scheme was as wild as that of a man who would propose a dozen public schools in a rural section."

But a writer in the *Kingston News*, an agriculturist, says:

"In my judgment it is, to say the least of it, a sad state of affairs that the great agricultural province of Ontario expends only about \$200,000 annually on agricultural education, when so much of the public funds are recklessly squandered."

Then he points out what is done elsewhere. He says Bavaria has 26 agricultural schools; Wurtemberg, 16; Saxony, 24; Baden, 14, with four schools of gardening; Hesse Darmstadt, one college and eight schools; Saxe Weimar, an agricultural department with 15 professors, four agricultural colleges with 80 professors, and 41 schools, all connected with model farms. France has 3,000 experimental plots, and 250 professors travelling about the country. In many of the German States the population is much less than ours.

"Oh, sir," concludes the writer, "if the money that has been used for bribery and corruption, to curse and pollute the electorate in the past ten years, had been used for this purpose, it would have endowed chairs of agricultural science in every University in the Dominion."

The Ross Government says agricultural education is preposterous, and gives away free to great syndicates the pulp resources, which, if sold, would provide the means for the development of the interests of our farmers.

The Agricultural Committee

It cannot fairly be said that the Government has resisted all the efforts that have been made to meet the wants of the farmers; for it has adopted many measures proposed to it either by members of the Legislature or by leading agriculturalists. Still it is slow to act and sometimes its action is not wisely taken.

It resisted until the session of 1901 the proposal of Mr. Little to appoint a standing committee on agriculture in the Legislature to enquire into agricultural questions and to propose measures on behalf of the farmers. The Conservatives created such a committee at Ottawa. Why the Ontario Government should have opposed one in Toronto it is difficult to say. The success of the Opposition struggle for the appointment of the committee was a great triumph and that it will be fraught with immense advantages to the farming industry goes without saying. It opens the door of the Legislature to the farmers. It permits them to be heard; and altogether it is a good thing.

The Beet Sugar Industry

One of the cases in which the action of the Government has been ill-advised as well as slow, is that relating to beet root sugar. For years pressure has been brought to bear upon the Ministers to give encouragement to the beet sugar industry. As long ago as 1890 the Ministers had reports on the subject. The Ottawa Government withdrew the small bonus that was given to the farmers for beet sugar growing. That Government believes in bonusing the great iron industries of Nova Scotia, but not in bonusing any industry in which the farmers is concerned. It therefore declined to help the Ontario beet sugar industry. An appeal was made to the Ontario Government to do what the Ottawa Government refused to do. The Ontario Government resisted the application for years; but finally in 1901 it brought in a bill giving a bonus of half a cent a pound to replace the two cents a pound bounty formerly given at Ottawa. This bonus is just half what is paid by the State of New York. There a bounty of one cent is given. To the surprise of the Legislature the measure proposed to give the bonus only to the companies which refine the sugar and nothing at all to the farmer who grows the beet. At once Mr. Boyd of North Grey moved, seconded by Mr. Eilber of Huron, as follows:

"And this House, while approving of the general provisions of the bill, regrets that it contains no provisions securing directly to the farmers producing sugar

beets a reasonable bonus or bounty on each ton of beets produced and sold by them."

The Government voted this down. It insists upon confining the bonus to the company.

Live Stock Interests

Much has to be done for the live stock interests. In horses it is necessary to get the animal that is suited for the army. There has been a great deal of talk about establishing remount stations; but the Government has not yet thought of moving in the direction of aiding in the breeding of the special horse required by the Imperial Government.

In cattle the Government ought to assist the industry not by opening up a cattle ranch in Dakota under the auspices of the Ontario Minister of Agriculture; but by pushing our own Ontario interests in the British market in preference to those of Chicago. Nothing is too good for the Ontario farmer and the proposal to accord him every advantage that any other farmer can get is both wise and patriotic.

The census of 1901 reports that the rural population of Ontario has declined by 48,133 during the past ten years. There ought to be 100,000 more people in the rural districts instead of a reduction of 48,133. If we have an up-to-date Agricultural Department there will be progress and prosperity for the industry over which it presides.

The Excuse for Inefficiency

It is often said by the Ministers, as an excuse for their neglect of the farmer, that Mr. Whitney has so little regard for agriculture that he actually voted against the creation of the Department of Agriculture and the appointment of a special minister to preside over that bureau. This statement is incorrect. Ever since Confederation we have had a Minister of Agriculture; our first being Sir John Carling, and the second, Mr. McKellar.

But up to 1888 that office was combined with the office of Provincial Secretary. In 1888 the government introduced legislation splitting the office up into two, and providing for seven Ministers instead of six. Sir William Meredith, then leader of the Opposition, pointed out that the Provincial Treasurer had not much to do, and the Provincial Secretary was equally idle. He held that the Department of Agriculture could well be separated from the Secretaryship, but that the Treasurer and the Secretary should be rolled into one, thus preventing the multiplication of Ministers. His words were:—

"He did not dispute the importance of giving attention to agricultural matters or oppose the appointment of a Minister of Agriculture, but he entered his protest against the addition of another member to the Cabinet."

Mr. Whitney voted with Sir William for his policy of creating a separate department of Agriculture, and of combining two other departments which do little or nothing in order that an increase in the number of the sinecures might be prevented.

Mr. Dryden's Dakota Interest

It was never supposed that we would have a Minister of Agriculture who is more favorable to United States interests than to Canada. Such a Minister Mr. Dryden has unfortunately turned out to be. For years we have been trying to give Ontario the reputation it deserves and the business to which it is entitled as a beef producing and beef exporting province. The Americans do an enormous dressed beef export trade. Why should we not do the same thing? Why should not our farmers share more fully in the millions of dollars that are paid annually by England for beef from this side of the ocean?

While everybody has been looking for means to promote Ontario interests in

this particular, and while the Cattle Breeders Association has been very busy on the subject, Mr. Dryden has taken a ranche in Dakota. He has admitted that his object is to export young cattle from Ontario to Dakota, to fatten them there, and then to send them to the Chicago market. This is a contribution by the Ontario Minister of Agriculture to the United States dressed beef trade. It helps to cut Ontario out. The conduct of Mr. Dryden in neglecting Ontario and building up Dakota has been widely condemned.

Mr. Pettypiece, the Liberal M.P.P. for East Lambton, writes of it thus :

"Of course Mr. Dryden, as an individual, has a perfect right to go into business anywhere he pleases, but when a Canadian Minister of Agriculture goes ranching in the States he gives the agricultural interests of this country, which should be to him a sacred trust, a blow that the people can hardly be expected to tolerate.

"This is not a party question, but one in which every citizen of this province is interested alike. We are spending thousands of dollars in drawing the attention of the world to the fact that Ontario holds out the greatest opportunities to those who wish to engage in agricultural pursuits, but how can we expect people to believe these statements when the enemies of Canada have simply to point to the Ontario Minister of Agriculture as a living contradiction.

"It is beyond the power of tongue or pen to fully offset the bad effect of Mr. Dryden's actions, and the people of Ontario, irrespective of party, will be doing only what their duty to their country requires, if they ask him to resign his portfolio and step down and out. His usefulness as a Minister of Agriculture, in the highest sense of the word, is gone."

Although Mr. Dryden's action in Dakota is doing so much harm that Minister retains his official position in Ontario. He is cited by the Americans as a living proof that Dakota is better than this province.



The Transportation Question

EFFORTS OF MR. WHITNEY TO SECURE LOWER FREIGHT RATES FOR THE ONTARIO FARMER.

The Policy Resisted by the Ross Government.

On the subject of the freight rates upon farm products sent to the markets of the world Mr. Whitney and the Ontario Opposition have taken a forward stand. No question is of greater interest to the farmers of this province. Its solution means a great increase in the value of farm produce and a proportionate increase in the value of all farm property.

Better Rates Next Door

There can be no doubt that the farmer of the United States secures much better rates than does the farmer of Ontario. Mr. A. F. MacLaren, M. P., in a recent speech estimated that the difference in the charges is fully twenty-five per cent. in favor of the United States producer. The American farmer has his own market to himself, and the Ontario farmer is shut out from his market. Our duties upon his products entering Canada are much lower than the United States duties upon our products. He then has another advantage. His corn enters Canada free and this, according to Mr. Charlton, is to him a very valuable privilege. Then he can enter the British market free and is there on even terms with us. In addition to all these benefits he has the further advantage of cheaper freight rates.

Comparative Rates

From time to time comparisons have been made of the rates charged in Ontario with those charged across the line. Some of these exhibit very startling results. Here is one with reference to the carrying of cattle. Cattle are exported by the Americans from Chicago and by the people of Ontario from Toronto. The rates recently quoted were these for the car-load :

Chicago to Portland, 1,142 miles.....	\$40.00
Toronto to Portland, 630 miles.....	50 00
Buffalo to Portland.....	35.00

The higher charge laid upon the Ontario product must come out of the pocket of the Ontario farmer. In wheat rates some extraordinary figures have been given, for example :

	per cwt.
Buffalo to Liverpool via New York.....	11½ cents.
Toronto to Liverpool.....	17½ "

It costs 6½ cents more to ship from Toronto than from Buffalo. But here is something still more remarkable :

Duluth to Montreal..... 8½ cents.
 Markdale to Montreal..... 16½ "

The lesser distance pays double the rate of the greater distance.

Midland to Montreal (through traffic)..... 4½ cents.
 Midland to Montreal (Ontario produce)..... 8 4/10 "

The charge here is double for the same distance—the American product getting the lower rate.

Chicago to Montreal..... 8 cents.
 Stratford to Montreal..... 13½ "

In this case the shorter the haul the higher the price.

Justice Resisted

This is a matter in respect of which the combined efforts of the Ontario and the Federal Governments would bring about results satisfactory to our producers. Taking this view of the question Mr. Crawford moved in the Legislature on Feb. 25th that

"In the opinion of this House it is the duty of the Provincial Government, to, without delay, urge upon the Government of Canada, the necessity of taking steps to obtain for the people of this Province, cheaper rates for the transportation of agricultural products."

It was a grave disappointment when the Government refused to act on behalf of the agricultural interests and voted the resolution down. The division taken on that occasion was as follows :

FOR LOWER FREIGHT RATES

Messrs. Allen	Eilber	Little	Pyne
Beatty (Leeds)	Fallis	Matheson	Reid (Durham)
Brower	Foy	Discampbell	Robson
Carnegie	Fox	Monteith	Thompson
Colquhoun	Hoyle	Morrison	Tucker
Crawford	Joynt	Macdiarmid	Wardell
Dempsey	Kidd	McDonald	Whitney
Duff	Kribs		

Also paired in favor of the resolution—Messrs. Barr, Boyd, Carscallen, Gallagher, Jamieson, Jessop, Lucas, Marter, McLaughlin, Powell and Reid of Addington.

AGAINST LOWER FREIGHT RATES

Messrs. Auld	Charlton	Guibord	McKee
Aylsworth	Conmee	Harcourt	Pardee
Barber	Davis	Hill	Pense
Beatty (Parry Sound)	Dickenson	Hislop	Pettypiece
Blesard	Douglas	Holmes	Preston
Bowman	Dryden	Latchford	Richardson
Bridgland	Farwell	Loughrin	Ross (G.W.)
Brown	Gibson	Malcolm	Russell
Burt	Graham	Munro	Stratton
Cardwell	Gross	Mutrie	Taylor
Carpenter.			

Also paired against the resolution—Messrs. Breithaupt, Clarke, Garrow, Lee, Leys, Lumsden, McKay, Pardo, Patullo, Smith and Truax.

The movement is postponed but Mr. Whitney will take it up on behalf of our great farming industry in the next Parliament. It is felt that there is more to be done for agriculture by securing a reduction in the charges for transportation than in giving away unnecessary sums of money for subsidies and in adding to the people's burden.

GOOD ROADS

The Real Meaning of the Million Dollar Grant

FARMERS GET BACK SOME OF THEIR OWN MONEY

But Must Go Heavily into Debt to Secure It

The "million dollar grant" to roads is made a subject of much platform eloquence. It is represented that the Government is giving a million dollars in charity to the farmers.

But the fact is the farmers are merely offered a small proportion of the money the Ontario Government has already taken from them. The license revenue now derived by the Government from the municipalities amounts to \$304,000 a year. Four years of this revenue, if the municipalities had it, would pay the million dollars and interest. If the people had the license revenue which that Government has taken to itself, they could spend a million dollars every four years on good roads and not add one cent to their taxes.

The amount of money taken from the people as license revenue since this Government has been in office is \$6,182,000. It is sufficient to provide six \$1,000,000 grants for good roads. The \$1,000,000 grant is simply the restitution to the people of one-sixth of the money they have already placed in the Provincial Treasury.

Must Go Into Debt

In order to get some of their own money returned to them for road purposes, the people are required to spend twice as much again as the Government gives. Thus, if a county is entitled to \$20,000, it would spend \$60,000 and go into debt \$40,000, or they will not get the \$20,000. This means an addition to the municipal debt. Our municipalities owe \$54,000,000 now, and the Government, instead of freely helping them, insists that they shall add \$2,000,000 to their liabilities. It is not fair to take the money from the people and to declare that if they are to have one-sixth of it returned to them they must go into debt for twice the amount they receive.

Complicated Conditions

While these terms are unfair, the other conditions are of such a character that the municipalities have not been able to take advantage of the grant. Either counties or townships can apply for the grant. If a county applies the distribution of the burden is unequal. Thus a township may get no roads, and yet have to shoulder a share of the liability. The towns and villages also have to carry the debt. If, on the other hand, the townships go in for the grant, the towns and villages are exempt. The thing is so complicated that it has only served, so far, to produce difficulties.

Purposely 'Unfair'

It is believed that the arrangement has been made unfair and unworkable for the distinct purpose of preventing the people sharing the grant. The Government, by pretending to give away \$1,000,000, which it first takes from the people six times over, seeks a reputation for benevolence. As it has made the distribution almost impossible, and therefore does not expect to have to pay anything, it gets this reputation cheaply. Something must be done to make the assistance in road-making and road improvement fair and genuine. The better the roads, the easier and cheaper the journey to market.

NEW ONTARIO

*Build up the Great North and West
of the Province*

GOVERNMENT NEGLECT FOR THIRTY YEARS

**It Wakes Up to Maladminister and Injure the
Territory.**

New Ontario is all the unsettled portion of the province, North and West. It is commonly understood, however, to cover what was once the disputed territory. Out of the ownership of this territory from Port Arthur, west, the Government kept us for many years. Mr. Mackenzie referred the boundary question to a Board of Arbitrators. That Board decided that the boundary extended to some two hundred miles west of Lake Superior. But Mr. Blake maintained that the award was only "suggestive" and that it was not authoritative. Sir John Macdonald also held that nothing but a legal decision from the Highest Court in the realm could definitely fix the boundary beyond dispute.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, speaking on behalf of Quebec in the House of Commons, declared that the award must be agreed to. He said (Hansard page 740, 1882):

"Let us suppose the question is re-opened. The award may be set aside and it may be that Ontario will be increased to the Red River. You will then have the Province of Ontario made greater than it is by the award."

For this view Mr. Ross, who was then in Parliament, declared by his vote. He was afraid Ontario would become too large. From that time out the Liberals stood by the award and the Conservatives insisted upon a legal decision. In 1882 the Liberal Government gave way, and the question of our right to the territory was argued in London with this result that the Court decided in our favor.

Eighteen Years of Do Nothing

Our rights were confirmed in 1882, but not until 1900 did the Government awaken to the fact that the country was worth developing. Meanwhile the Conservatives at Ottawa undertook to open it out by the construction of the Canadian Pacific. Against this great enterprise Mr. Ross entered strong objection in Parliament. He particularly opposed the building of the line on the north shore of Lake Superior, and through the Thunder Bay District. He said in the House (Hansard 1881, page 322):

"You will notice that by the terms of this contract we are going to build the eastern end, 690 miles, inside of ten years. We are certainly not building the Lake Superior end of the road, what is called the eastern section, for the purpose of colonization. We have no evidence that that land is of great value; we know the climate is unfavorable; we know the soil is somewhat barren. True, there may be some valuable timber in the country, but we do not require to build a railroad into it for the sake of the timber. We have an abundance of timber on existing lines of railway, so that the immediate construction of the eastern end of this route is unnecessary."

Holding that the country was barren and the climate bad the Liberals neglected it. All the development that has taken place has been undertaken in spite of Government neglect and opposition.

Mr. Clergue's Testimony

This point is made very plain by Mr. Clergue, who has established great enterprises at the Sault. Mr. Clergue came among us in 1894 in response to the representations made to him touching the value of the water power at the Sault. He secured an interest in that power and gradually added to his business until it is what we see it to-day. It was not the Government that opened the enterprises which he is conducting. Speaking at Owen Sound, Mr. Clergue described the attitude of the Government towards his great undertakings. He said, according to the report of his speech:

"Referring to the difficulties in the way of a stranger coming to Canada for the purpose of developing the rich resources of the country—a greater heritage than those of any other country—(cheers)—Mr. Clergue said that when he first came to Canada he met with the difficulty that the ministers in power had no great confidence in the country's resources, and he ventured the assertion that there was not a public man in either Government who possessed the knowledge relative to the resources of the northern part of Ontario which he had gathered. In the (Clergue) office at Sault Ste. Marie were to be found geological surveys and other information which the Government did not possess, and he was satisfied that if the members of the Government would put on a pair of rubber boots and go with him into the bush he would convince them of the existence of large areas of tillable soil and rich deposits of ore and mineral, the existence of which was not credited."

It was only after the Clergue syndicate had expended millions in discovering valuable natural resources, first pulp wood, then nickel, and then steel on a large scale, that the Government was driven to recognize what had been accomplished, and then that Government proceeded to claim that it had done it all!

History of the Sault Enterprises

The history of the Sault Ste. Marie enterprises is given in the Sault Ste. Marie Express, (a Liberal paper), of June 16th, 1899, and in Mr. Clergue's speech before the Toronto Board of Trade on April 2nd, 1900. The Sault Express says that Sault Ste. Marie was incorporated in 1887.

"With a population of 3,000 it undertook the development of the water privileges of the Canadian side of the St. Mary's rapids, and at the cost of \$250,000 succeeded in completing a water power canal about half a mile in length. This, with the many other expenditures necessary for a growing town, created a very heavy burden for the town to bear, but fortunately it was not to bear it long for the canal had hardly been completed when it was brought to the notice of Messrs. F. H. Clergue, of New York city, and E. V. Douglas, of Philadelphia, who with their associates purchased it from the town in the Fall of 1894 at the estimated cost of the town. These gentlemen at once proceeded to enlarge the canal until its capacity reached 30,000 horse-power, and to erect among other important works, two of the largest pulp mills in the world, which are now fully completed and proving of great value in promoting the welfare of this town and the district generally."

In the same issue the Sault Express points out that the "Lake Superior Power

Company"—Mr. Clergue's enterprise—was incorporated in 1894, and that the large developments he was undertaking would employ 50,000 men.

Not until 1900 did the Ontario Government know that development works were in progress at the Sault. Then because it yielded to the proposal that a grant of land be given to the Algoma Central Railway it claimed that it had established these works and had produced all the activity belonging to them.

In the speech before the Toronto Board of Trade on April 2nd, 1900, Mr. Clergue said that

"As one of a party of gentlemen, seeking investment for capital, he came from the Eastern States to Canada a few years ago. The party started on a prospecting tour in search for hydraulic power. In the course of the journey, starting from Cape Breton and ending at Port Arthur, many water powers were met with, some of importance, but none of prime importance until Sault Ste. Marie was reached."

Out of that tour the enterprises sprung. It was while seeking to build up Ontario that Mr. Clergue discovered, as he had at Owen Sound, that

"The ministers in power had no great confidence in the country's resources."

In spite of the lassitude of the Government the work of development has proceeded, and Premier Ross and his colleagues, who had no faith in it, now see with astonishment what enterprise can do.

The Lumber Question

The natural resources of New Ontario may be divided into three sections—the lumber, the mineral, and the agricultural lands. Beginning with the lumber, it is found that that mass of natural wealth was sold by the Government, against Conservative protests, largely to the lumbermen of Michigan. The Conservatives agitated continuously and moved resolutions demanding that the policy be abandoned. But the Government was mysteriously bound to the Michigan interest, and not till after a very strong fight was put up, first by Sir William Meredith and afterwards by Mr. Whitney, would it budge an inch. We lost \$30,000,000 in manufacturing, owing to the obstinacy with which the Michigan policy was pursued. The story is related on another page.

Now that this evil has been cured, the Government has introduced another. Finding that pulp-wood—spruce, poplar, and jack pine—is very valuable for paper making, it has carved the country out into huge districts and has given these districts away gratuitously to syndicates. This question of the pulp deals is fully discussed on another page of this pamphlet. The selling of our lumber to the Michigan lumbermen and the giving away of the pulp-wood to the tune of 15,660 square miles, is described by the Ministers as the policy of "Build Up Ontario!"

Mismanaging the Minerals

Maladministration has stamped the mining management. This subject divides itself into various branches. For years the Government so conducted one branch, that of nickel, that the refining of the raw material was done exclusively in the United States. All appeals to them to secure the nickel industry for Ontario were made in vain. In order to continue the system and to quiet agitation, the Government in 1899 published imposing Orders in Council calling upon the Admiralty to build the war ships of Ontario nickel. This expedient ended in nothing. The Lords of the Admiralty declared that they could not agree to the proposition. A law was subsequently placed on the statute book authorising the Government to require nickel to be refined in Ontario whenever it might think it wise to do so. It is declared that the effect of that law is to handicap and embarrass mining operations, because capitalists will not begin to work when they do not know what conditions are to be imposed upon them. The Government has done all it can to prevent the development of the industry.

In other branches the system is bad, in that it discourages the prospector. Mr. William MacAdams, a mining engineer, tells the reason why. He says:

"To be abrupt, the mining laws of Ontario are superlatively rotten. New Ontario holds mineral possibilities unsurpassed in the known world. Yet mining is at a standstill. Where there should be booming camps employing hundreds and thousands of men, where smelters should smoke, refineries flourish, and metallurgical industries prosper, there is still an unbroken wilderness.

"The prospector who discovers a ledge is required to immediately survey. This survey may cost anywhere from \$100 to \$1,000 in the start out. He must also place assays and specimens of the mineral in the hands of the registrar. Having done all this, he may then make application to purchase the ground. His application goes through a long line of red tape, and his discovery may be stolen by any one who feels like sidetracking the prospector's location and filling on the ground himself. This system of stealing the discovery from the prospector is, I have been told, the rule, and not the exception, in Ontario.

"Should the prospector make the survey, comply with the red tape, and have his application accepted, he is then taxed anywhere from \$1.50 to \$3 an acre for the ground, and after all that, is required to put up fifty per cent. of the purchase price of a Crown grant. From that time on he is taxed two per cent. of the revenue from the mine, and is then required to purchase the wood, water power, surface rights, mill sites, tramway right of way, etc., etc. In fact, he is stood up to a fare-thee-well.

"There are a hundred other obnoxious features of the Ontario laws which I might point out; but a lengthy dissertation is unnecessary. Until these laws are reformed, and until the prospector is given a show in Ontario, the mining business cannot possibly flourish in this province."

What is wanted is business-like management, and mining in New Ontario will prosper.

Colonization

The colonization of New Ontario has been neglected. Yet there are sixteen millions of acres of cultivateable land there, and the climate is not at all what Mr. Ross represents it to be. By this time there ought to be several hundred thousand people settled in the great northern and western districts; but the lack of attention to the colonization question and the handing over of vast territories to corporations have retarded growth. The official reports of the Crown Lands Department give the following startling figures as to settlement from 1890 to 1901, inclusive:

Settlers arriving in New Ontario	7,312
Settlers now remaining	2,755

Settlers who have left	4,617
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During the past few sessions the Government has made a spurt. This spurt, however, consists of giving vast areas of land to railway companies. The grants given in each year are the following:

1899	2,075,000
1900	1,408,000
1901	3,077,000

Total	6,560,000
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The giving away of this land is another part of the "Build up Ontario" policy.

Urgent Appeals for Relief

From New Ontario the complaints of mismanagement, and worse, are very pressing. The people there cry for Old Ontario to rescue them from the rash mismanagement and oppression under which they suffer.

One writer, speaking for the settlers, said the road building up there is political. "In many instances pioneers have had to live in isolation for years because they were unable to build the roads which should have been made by the Government." Some roads are built in a fragmentary way where not needed, and are now overgrown. The expense of building the roads by the Government is excessive. "The Scramble road,

six miles in length, cost \$2,800, and the Wabigoon portage, seven miles long, cost \$5,000." The cheaper road is the better of the two. It was built by business men, while the foreman of the Government road was a political partisan.

"I am a Liberal, and have been one all my life," says an old resident of the Sault, "but I am tired of the corruption in official circles. The district is governed for the benefit of the creatures of the Government, and its development is retarded. Thirty-three years of this is too much. The Government has been in too long."

After describing the evils of the mining policy, another New Ontario resident says in a letter to the press. "I have travelled extensively through the districts of Algoma and Nipissing, and have heard but one cry in all places, namely, 'Give us a brass monkey for a Government! Give us a Chinese dog!! Give us anything for a change. But take away the Ross Government. Lash it away.'"

Such are some of the appeals addressed by New Ontario to the people of the other parts of the province.

Progressive Measures Needed

Mr. Whitney proposes to introduce progressive and modern measures in all departments of Ontario's development work. The resources of the country are to be developed by and for the people. The mining interest is to receive business-like attention. It is thought that the freeing of the industry from unnecessary embarrassments, and the encouragement of the building of smelters, will give it an impetus, the benefits of which will be universally felt. The work of settlement is to be so conducted that the settlers will be relieved from existing oppressions. Fair treatment, prompt attention to their needs, emancipation from a burdensome officialdom, will promote these interests and lead to the great agricultural development to which the province is entitled.



THE POWER QUESTION

**POWER SHOULD BE DEVELOPED BY THE
GOVERNMENT FOR THE MUNICIPAL-
ITIES AT COST**

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP TO BE ENCOURAGED

Advantages of Public Franchises to go to the People

At the last Session of the Legislature Mr. Miscampbell moved, and the Conservative members supported the following resolution, against which the Government and its friends voted:

"That in all future agreements made between the commissioners of the Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park and any other person or persons power shall be reserved to the Provincial Government to at any time put a stop to the transmission of electricity or pneumatic power beyond the Canadian boundary and that in the opinion of this house the waters of the Niagara River and its tributaries, as well as all the other waters of other streams where necessary, should at the earliest moment, subject to existing agreements, be utilized directly by the Provincial Government in order that the latter may generate and develop electric or pneumatic power for the purpose of light, heat and power, and furnish the same to municipalities in this Province at cost."

Ontario is rich in natural water powers, and the possibilities of electrical development are enormous. Our position as an industrial province, and the work and the wages of our people depend upon the proper distribution and utilization of the power with which nature has favored us in our rivers and waterfalls.

Power for the Americans

The Ontario Government commenced its dealings with this important question by transferring the tremendous water power at Niagara Falls to a United States Company. That company had power interests on the American side, which it developed. But the power on the Canadian side was not used. It was locked up under the insane policy of the Ross Government. The result was that great industries were established at the American Falls and at Buffalo, while the Canadian industrial interests were neglected.

The situation was a repetition of the Michigan lumber blunder. Mr. Ross gave everything to the Americans to the loss of Ontario. After years of effort the Conservative party has succeeded in driving the Government out of this anti-Canadian policy and a degree of relief is being experienced. But the Ross policy is still a policy

of monopoly and restriction. The Government holds to this policy with the greater tenacity because nearly all its members are in power companies.

Developments for the Future

The outlook for electrical development is very hopeful. William Stanley, the engineer who introduced the alternating current, has just announced that it is possible to transmit electricity with a fair efficiency, from a single station, over a territory of 200,000 square miles' area; or, to put it in another way, over a diameter of 500 miles' extent. He says, further, that only six such stations would be required to serve the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific. What a magnificent thing it would be for Ontario if its valuable water powers were utilized for feeding transmission lines, connecting all the towns, cities and villages of the Province! The system would place our industries in a splendid position. Other provinces have coal. We have some, no doubt, in the far north; but it is not yet utilized. Electrical power takes the place of coal, and if developed gives us a position not only equal to other parts of Canada, but equal to those manufacturing centres of the United States which have become great because of the huge coal deposits upon which they were drawn. What made Britain great as a manufacturing country if it was not her rich resources in coal or power?

Important to the Farmers

Electrical power will yet be required by the farmer. We are moving fast. The telephone, the electric light and the motor are to be found on farms in the Western States. These things add to the comfort of the people and reduce the amount of labour. As the time for their employment approaches what could be more important work for the progressive statesman than the providing of means by which the resources which nature has given us shall be enjoyed by the people? As far as possible, says Mr. Miscampbell's resolution, the Government should provide for the development of electrical power and its supply, not to foreigners, but to the municipalities of the Province at cost, for the use of the people of Ontario.



How They Rob Ontario

THE TAXPAYERS UNFAIRLY TREATED BY THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS

OUR RIGHTS MUST BE PROTECTED

Mr. Whitney has taken patriotic ground on the subject of the treatment accorded to the Ontario taxpayer by the allied Federal and Provincial Governments in the matter of railway subsidies. His position was stated in the discussion of the Temiscamingue Railway, which the Ross Government proposes to build at a cost of \$2,234,000 to the tax-payers of Ontario. The opposition maintained that the railway was a good thing and ought to have been built long since. An active government would have secured it and opened up the Temiscamingue at least ten years ago. The Ross Government did nothing until it saw an election coming, and then it proposed to make us pay \$2,234,000 for the line.

The opposition moved that the Government, if it could not force the Federal Government to build the needed railway, should demand for it the usual subsidy of \$6,400 a mile which would reduce our obligation by \$640,000.

Unfair to Ontario

By the Ontario and the Dominion Governments Ontario is treated with gross unfairness on this railway subsidy question. The Ontario taxpayer, according to the late Provincial Treasurer, Mr. A. M. Ross, pays half the taxes received by the Dominion.

The Intercolonial Railway has cost (see Railway report 1901, part II, page 32), no less than \$60,341,425. The interest on that sum is \$1,810,242, of which amount the Ontario taxpayer furnishes \$900,000.

The road is run at a loss. Last year there was a deficiency of \$500,000. Of this sum Ontario paid \$250,000.

None of the Eastern Provinces give subsidies to railways. They get everything from Ottawa. The public accounts show that during the past three years the following subsidies have been paid from Ottawa:

	1899	1900	1901	TOTAL
New Brunswick.....	\$ 98,761	\$ 22,930		\$ 121,691
Nova Scotia.....	4,500		\$319,400	323,900
British Columbia.....	2,322,500		340,000	2,662,500
Quebec.....	417,080	104,969	1,263,169	1,885,218
Ontario.....	171,696	71,159	402,464	645,319
Total.....				\$ 5,638,628

Out of \$5,638,628 Ontario received \$645,319. Ontario pays half of the total, equal to \$2,819,000 and gets \$645,319 back.

The Intercolonial costs the Ontario taxpayers for interest on the investment

\$900,000 a year, and for operation \$250,000 or \$1,150,000 in all. The railway subsidies are then so distributed that we pay the lion's share and get the smallest returns.

Old Subsidies Refunded

But this is not all. The Ross Government and the Federal Government are compelling the Ontario taxpayer to pay off old subsidies granted by the Eastern Provinces before they stopped the granting of bonuses. We have paid \$640,000 to Nova Scotia under this head and \$234,000 to New Brunswick. Further claims of this character are being pressed. In the Quebec Legislature the Liberal Government announces that it is looking to Ottawa for something like \$36,000,000 as refunds to bonuses and increases in Dominion grants, and it is going to get the money—in part from us.

Meanwhile the Ross Government compels Ontario to foot the railway bills and to give away territory as subsidies for roads that ought to be bonused by Ottawa.

What We Have Given

We have incurred a railway debt of \$5,800,000. During the past four years the following subsidies have been voted.

1899	\$1,592,400
1900	251,400
1901	307,000
1902	706,000
Temiscamingue Road	2,234,000
	\$5,090,800

Of territory the Ross Government has also given away for railways :—

1899	acres 2,075,000
1900	" 1,580,000
1901	" 3,077,000
	acres 6,732,000

Ontario gives half for other provinces and all for herself, and the arrangement is unjust.

Sir Oliver Mowat said in 1886 that we ought to have an independent Government in Ontario to protect our rights, and his view holds good now. It is time to strengthen the hands of Mr. Whitney and to make a protest.

Ontario's Railway Policy

Mr. Whitney takes the ground that we must stand up for fair treatment for Ontario. The Ontario producer and worker ought not to be taxed for himself and for other provinces as well. While the fight for Ontario's rights is in progress, our development must be aided. This can be done at no cost to the taxpayer by making "advances" to railway enterprises, either as loans or by taking stock in the road. The money advanced can be utilized over and over again in extending railways, where the people need them.

Municipal Rights

**THE POWERS OF THE PEOPLE ARE
GRADUALLY REDUCED**

APPOINTMENTS CENTRALIZED IN TORONTO

Municipal Jobs for Party Politicians

Municipal Government remains; but the thirty-year ministry has laboured to reduce it to a nullity by encroaching upon municipal powers and seizing the right to appoint. Local or municipal offices formerly belonging to the people are now the prizes of partizans, who receive them for services rendered to the Ontario Government.

The Government has taken to itself power to appoint all local court officials, all license officials, and even to supervise the selection of gaolers. It is now estimated that it has in its hands 7,400 places, the income from which is \$1,200,000 annually

Political Jobs

The appointments are all political, first because they are wanted as rewards for politicians, and secondly because officials constitute a part of the machine and are expected to work at elections. The officials manipulate the party conventions. Mr. McEwing, who was a candidate for the nomination in West Wellington, but was turned down at the first convention, made a speech in Guelph protesting against this practice. He said:—

"I have no hesitation in stating that it was the Government official's influence, and the Government official's votes that decided the result in the three last conventions held in West Wellington."

"By what authority did the officials and some of the party rulers canvass the delegates against McEwing, and state in doing so that the Government did not want McEwing to be the candidate?"

"It seems that we must say nothing, no matter what we think. Take the historic advice given by that virtuous and classic individual, W. T. R. Preston, and hug the machine!"

The official machine dictates nominations for the Government and then helps to conduct the elections. As we have seen in the liquor license system it taxes licensees for political purposes, and the money thus raised goes over to the machine to spend.

M.P.P.'s in Office

All the bigger offices go to members of the Legislature. They have the first pa

because they have voted as the Government has ordered, and have influence still in their respective constituencies.

Eighteen rejected candidates have received shrievalties, registrarships or other offices.

Fifty-one members of the Legislature, including four ministers of the Crown, received offices up to the date of the last general election.

Since 1898 the following appointments of M.P.P's have been made :

Campbell.....	South Renfrew.....	Registrar
Moscrip.....	South Perth.....	Registrar
Baxter.....	Haldimand.....	Registrar
Middleton.....	Wentworth.....	Sheriff
Tait.....	North Toronto.....	Osgoode Hall
Hardy (Hon. A. S.).....	South Brant.....	Osgoode Hall
Loughrin.....	Nipissing.....	Registrar

This brings the number up to 58.

Jobs with a String to Them

Under Premier Ross a new system of appointment has been invented with a view to keeping the offices in readiness for a political emergency. At the last general election Mr. R. A. Campbell was returned for South Renfrew. In the course of time his seat was wanted for Mr. Latchford, the new Minister of Public Works. Mr. M. McKay was the registrar of the county. He was called upon to resign his office that Mr. Campbell might be appointed and that Mr. Latchford might get Mr. Campbell's seat in the House. Mr. McKay declined to resign; but his resignation took effect all the same. It transpired that when Mr. McKay was appointed he had to write out a blank resignation for the Government to act upon whenever party necessities required. In the Legislature Mr. Ross declared that it was quite right to appoint officials pro tem.

By the new pro tem. system the Government can keep the officials up to the mark politically, for it can drop them if they do not work for the machine. At the same time it can hold the 7,200 offices before the politicians as rewards for faithful work.

Thirty years of rule has multiplied the offices and has made the public service a branch of the machine. The thing ought to be stopped.

Officials in Politics

The officials are expected to work in the elections. They are required to exercise all their influence against the people. In the Legislature in 1898 a bill was introduced to stop this. The Government rejected the bill; but brought in a mild resolution, authorizing the Ministers to reprimand officers who campaign. The resolution was a blind. The officers work all the same and those who are corrupt retain their positions. This is wrong and the people must put an end to it.;



The Public Schools

Ring Rule and Autocratic Control to be Stopped.

The question of education is agitating the people and the teaching profession, and reform is demanded. When Dr. Ryerson proposed the creation of a Minister of Education he never intended that that official should be an irresponsible and corrupt autocrat. He expected that while the schools would be directly under Legislative control, there would be fair and reasonable management, and that the system would be elastic and responsive to the public needs. His wishes have not been carried into effect. The very thing he wished for has not been obtained.

The Ross System

Under Mr. Adam Crooks, the first Minister, education received attention. But when Mr. G. W. Ross succeeded that minister the iron-clad plan was adopted. Restrictions were set upon teachers. Exercise of discretion and reason was prevented. Factories for the turning out of teachers with the reduction of their salaries as the direct consequence were multiplied, the school book and school supply business was taken over by the Government and turned into a huge monopoly, for which the people pay. Long and continuous have been the complaints against the faults which Mr. Ross has introduced and reform has been urgently called for. All the experts in education are on record against the existing inelastic plan. Sir. Daniel Wilson said of the system that it leaves no room for the exercise of intelligence. Principal Grant says the system in Ontario "has passed from a state of disorganization into a worse state of organization under the blind belief that all that was needed was more organization." President London declares that the curriculum is faulty. The child in the public school is overtaxed by departments of study for which his young mind is totally unfit. In one year 11,483 candidates took the examination leading to teachers' certificates when the whole number of teachers required by the province is 8,465. The examinations are excessive and if a student lags behind in one subject he is held back in all. In 1900, 36,100 candidates were examined and 706,500 examination papers were issued. All experts on education demand a change. Change is needed in the system, in the machinery, in the school books, in fact in everything that the place may be modern, up-to-date and suitable to the requirements of the country.

Everybody Protests

A prominent Ontario man, evidently a teacher who dare not reveal his name, for the minister would pounce upon him if he did, writes to the Ottawa Journal a severe criticism of the results of the iron-clad Ross system. He says:

"Thirty or forty years ago there was hardly a boy or girl 12 or 16 years of age who was not well trained in spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic. To-day the girl or boy of 12 or 16 who can spell or read and write and cipher for a quarter of an hour at a time and not exhibit lamentable failure is an admirable exception.

"I have evidence of it in the boys of my own family, who are perhaps no duller than other boys of their class; and this in particular is what galls me, that my boys cannot read or write or spell or cipher after spending years in the public school, but must go out to begin life's work with an equipment to provoke the sneer of the first business man to whom they may apply for a situation.

"There has been far too much jimcrackery in the schools. Where is the suggestion or recommendation of the Ontario Teachers' Association which in the last fifteen years has won the approval of the Minister of Education? And is any person so sanguine as to hope that any radical reform will find favor with the present Minister as long as the former Minister is his chief?"

At all the meetings of the Educational Association reforms have been advocated. The autocratic Minister meets these proposals with threats. He was so violent in his assault upon Principal Loudon for speaking freely that the dismissal of that eminent educationalist as a punishment for telling the truth was foretold. The effect of the repression of opinion is to prevent a really free expression by the teaching profession of the prevailing view, yet much is said and earnest appeals are made for reform. Mr. Whitney's proposal to break the autocracy by the creation of an advisory committee is universally welcomed. It is felt that it will bring new ideas into the management, and that it will make the public schools better than ever. Great Britain has the Advisory Committee; so has Manitoba. Nova Scotia is going to adopt it. The Liberals there want this reform and they intend to introduce it. Why should Ontario lag behind?

Schools Belong to the People

The opinion of the Government is that a politician has a superior right to dictate how the public schools shall be conducted. It is a part of the Government doctrine that it has "the Divine right to rule." The Government speeches indicate that the ministers think they are entitled to be autocrats because they supply and sustain the schools. But look at these figures showing what the school grants by the Ontario Government are:

	Total for Education.	For Public Schools.
1877.....	\$550,300	\$227,587
1897.....	719,815	220,440
1900.....	758,400	220,254
1901.....	782,193	219,841

It will be noticed that the public school grants do not increase. The people pay out of their own municipal taxes twenty times as much for education as the Ontario Government gives out of its Federal subsidy for public schools. Here are the figures taken from the municipal statistics and the public accounts.

Educational grants paid by the people out of their taxes:

1895.....	\$4,296,362
1897.....	4,258,034
1898.....	4,434,194

Educational grants by the Ontario Government for public schools:

1877.....	\$227,589
1897.....	220,440
1900.....	220,254
1901.....	219,841

Yet the Ontario Government holds that it has the right to be autocratic and to prevent the adoption of modern methods.

The School Book Ring

One of the evils of the autocratic rule is the establishment of the school book ring. This was the work of Mr. Ross. The thing commenced with the insertion in the school law of the following clause:

"In case any teacher shall negligently or wilfully permit any unauthorized textbook to be used by the pupils of his school, he shall for each offence on conviction thereof before a police magistrate or justice of the peace be liable to a penalty, payable

to the municipality, for public school purposes, of \$10 together with costs as the police magistrate or justice may think fit."

Armed with this penal law Mr. Ross formed the ring, giving to three publishers the exclusive right to furnish readers, and to others a similar right to print other text books. In no other country in the world is there such a law. In no other country is there such a monopoly.

The first complaint arose on the subject of drawing books. One firm was authorized to secure them at ten cents each; another offered to supply them at five cents. The higher price prevailed. In the public schools 350,000 pupils use these drawing books. They had to pay \$17,500 a year more for them than was just. It gave the publisher who was favored a profit over and above what the competing publisher wanted of \$175,000 in ten years.

All the readers are in the hands of the monopoly. The cost and selling price of these books were as follows for years:

	Cost.	Selling price.
1st Reader, Part I.....	4.57	10c.
1st Reader, Part II.....	5.94	15c.
2nd Reader.....	10.77	25c.
3rd Reader.....	13.59	35c.
4th Reader.....	15.82	45c.

Some slight reduction has since been made. But during the first ten years the profits of the monopoly were \$1,000,000.

Here are the facts relating to one book, the Fourth Reader:

Price.....	45 cents.
Cost.....	16 "
Profit.....	29 "

Number used in ten years 1,000,000.

Profit on 1,000,000 at 29 cents each in ten years \$290,000.

Guarded by the Government

The Minister of Education guards the monopoly with a jealous eye. Nobody can invade it. It is so sacred that it cannot be broken. In all the departments of education there are text book monopolies. Some of the books are exceedingly out of date. The public school Geography was recently submitted to examination. It showed by illustrations that Canada was a country of log houses and that our population was much below what it really is. It was the story of Canada thirty years ago and this story had to be taught to our children.

The education system needs to be emancipated from the slovenly ring-ridden, man control and the advisory committee of experts must be called in.



Smash the Machine

A Rotten System Imported from the United States

BALLOT BOX STUFFING AND CORRUPTION

How the Thing Robs the Ontario Elector

The machine is a modern invention. During the last general election it was employed; and it became very prominent and very active at the bye-elections. It is an imitation of the Tammany machine of New York, and of the machines of Pennsylvania and Missouri. It derives its money, as do its United States prototypes, from tolls laid upon persons doing business with the Government.

Some of the Revelations

Efforts have been made to discover the frauds and corruptions of the Ross machine; but these have only been partly successful. The crime committed is carefully covered up as a rule, and it is with the greatest difficulty that even a peep at the criminal invention working in the constituencies can be secured. The machine pays its operators and pays them again to perjure themselves or to go in hiding. Since 1898 the pursuit of the machine has resulted in the unseating of the Government supporters in the following constituencies:

CONSTITUENCY.	NAME.	OFFENCE.
Lennox.....	Aylesworth.....	Corruption by Government Officials
East Northumberland.....	Douglas.....	Corruption and Whiskey.
Nipissing.....	Loughrin.....	Corruption and Whiskey.
Halton.....	Barber.....	Votes bought at from \$2 to \$10 per head.
South Perth.....	Moscrip.....	Corruption and Ballot Trickery
South Ontario.....	Dryden (Hon. John).....	Ballot box stuffing; bribery by wholesale.
West Huron.....	Garrow (Hon.).....	Votes from \$2 to \$3 per head
North Waterloo.....	Breithaupt.....	Ballot box stuffing and wholesale bribery
West Elgin.....	Macnish.....	Ballot box stuffing, personating and bribery.

188 Charges of Corruption

In Lennox 188 charges of corruption and fraud were made and Government officials were accused of wrong-doing. Mr. Aylesworth, the machine member, resigned his seat rather than stand a trial. Thus the inquiry into the work of the machine there was prevented. At a later trial—in Waterloo—it was admitted that the ballot box stuffers had operated in Lennox.

Nobody was prosecuted.

400 Charges of Corruption

In East Northumberland the Government candidate was elected by the machine. There 400 charges of corruption were made. After two cases had been enquired into the accused resigned the seat. One of the Liberal papers says the record of the trial was a story of "continuous treating, drinking and wholesale whiskey lushing."

There were no prosecutions.

Corruption by Officials

Mr. John Loughrin was the machine candidate in Nipissing. At the election Sheriff Varin declared him duly returned by a majority of 61. At the election trial held on November 1st, 1898, Sheriff Varin admitted that he had accounted for only 43 polling sub-divisions out of 45, thus ruling out a large number of voters.

It appears from the evidence at the trial that the Nipissing election was corrupt and that whiskey was used. Mr. H. J. Gilligan, the Crown Lands Agent at Mattawa confessed as follows:—

"I took much interest in the election of John Loughrin and gave liquor to be used on election day; I purchased some six or eight dozen flasks, also some six bottles. I owe about \$75 in Papineau township, all spent for illegal purposes. I owe \$25 in Cameron township spent for corrupt practices."

Whiskey in the Contest

William W. Murphy said he had got \$200 of colonization road money on the recommendation of John Loughrin. He gave to voters whiskey supplied by Gilligan, the Crown Lands Agent. Samuel McMeekin testified that a valise two feet long, six inches high and eight inches wide and full of flasks of whiskey had been left at his house for use on election day in the interests of John Loughrin. He distributed the whiskey among voters.

The court unseated Mr. Loughrin and reported as guilty of bribery W. N. Murphy, B. J. Gilligan (Crown Lands Agent), and Samuel McMeekin.

None of the parties were punished. The Government restored Crown Lands Agent Gilligan to his office and employed Murphy as its colonization road agent.

Mr. John Loughrin, in whose behalf the corruption was conducted, has been appointed registrar of Nipissing with a salary of \$3,000.

\$10 Each in Halton

In the case of Halton Mr. Barber dropped the seat after the hearing of the first few witnesses. It was proven that Government agents entered the constituency, and that from \$5 to \$10 each were paid for votes.

Coercion in North Hastings

In the North Hastings bye-election on December 17th, 1898 the machine was prominent; but it failed to steal the constituency. Mr. Ross and Mr. Gibson were also present on behalf of Mr. Lott, their candidate. Mr. Ross spoke at Coe Hill, and offered to build roads and bridges if his candidate were elected.

In this contest the machine exerted its railway subsidy influence. There was issued the following coercive circular to the employees of the Central Ontario Railway:

"The company requires every employee who has a vote in North Hastings to cast same in favour of the Liberal candidate on the 27th inst. You will be allowed off duty long enough to do this without

SMASH THE MACHINE

"Please sign your name at the bottom of this letter and return same to me promptly as an acknowledgment that you have received, understand and will comply with request contained therein.

Yours truly,

GEORGE COLLINS,
General Superintendent."

The purpose of the circular was to force the men to vote for the Government. If they failed to do so they risked dismissal. Thus the Government strangled individual liberty as effectively as it robbed the electors by ballot-box stuffing

Ballot Trickery in South Perth

Trickery in the printing and distribution of the ballots was practiced in South Perth. In the election for that riding there were three candidates and their names appeared on the ballot in alphabetical order thus :

Mr. Frame,	(Patron)
Mr. Monteith,	(Conservative)
Mr. Moscrip,	(Liberal)

A number of ballots were so misprinted that the compartment in which the friends of Mr. Monteith should place their mark was opposite the name of Mr. Frame, while the compartment for Moscrip voters was opposite the name of Mr. Monteith.

These badly printed ballots were given only to Conservatives who were faced with this dilemma : If they placed their cross opposite Mr. Monteith's name it might be counted for the Government candidate in whose compartment the cross would be, but if they placed their cross in Mr. Monteith's compartment, which was opposite Mr. Frame's name the ballot might be counted for Mr. Frame. Again, whatever they might do, the returning officer might reject the ballot as spoiled.

The Government officers gave Mr. Moscrip the seat. But he was subsequently unseated for the corruption which formed a part of the proceedings.

The Machine Works for Dryden

In the fall of 1898 the machine elected Hon. John Dryden for South Ontario.

At the election trial in May, 1899 the veil was lifted but a little way, and it was learned that the constituency was invaded by an army of workers who were stationed at various points, and that a regular orgie was entered upon.

Mr. W. V. Richardson, chairman of the Pickering Liberal Association tells of the arrival of some of the workers. "Sim" Hewitt was one. Mr. Richardson says "He was trying to find out who was to be bought this time. He was trying to find the doubtful voter." He worked with Capt. Sullivan, Government Timber Agent, at the Sault, who paid \$3 each for votes for Dryden. The average price for votes was \$3. The operators were well provided with money. Mr. Alex. Smith, the chief Liberal organizer, made the mistake of sending a \$100 bill instead of a \$1 to Mr. Richardson for the postage on the certificates to be sent to the scrutineers. Mr. Smith was very flush of money.

Paid to Go In Hiding

At the trial it came out that local men had helped the machinists and that these persons had been paid to absent themselves in order that the evidence might be suppressed.

Mr. Wm. Gormley, Secretary of the Reform Association of Pickering township, testified that money had been paid to the operators to get away and escape the subpoena. Witness said he had spoken about the matter to Nelson Davey. On examination he testified :

Q. Mr. Davey was down looking over this thing for Mr. Dryden ?

A. Yes.

Q. This was part of the plan to help these men to get away ?

A. I suppose so.

Q. Who is Nelson Davey ?

Witness said that Mr. Davey had been working in the Department of Agriculture.

Witness knew Mr. John Thompson.

Q. You have seen Dryden and Mr. Thompson together in Pickering in the course of the last election?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you tell him?

A. I told him I arranged to have these people go away.

Q. What did he say?

A. He said "That's all right."

Witness had worked in the Agricultural Department (Mr. Dryden's) in March "and had spoken to Mr. Dryden about a permanent position."

Horried the Judges

The case was not fully investigated. But so far as it went it horrified the judges. Judge Opler said:

"It simply revolts me to see a case in which there does appear to have been a very considerable expenditure of money if this little opening that we have had this morning indicates at all what has been going on in the riding. It revolts me to be obliged practically to stop where the investigators choose to stop with the reporting of a few trifling creatures who would take \$5. But the court is helpless."

Mr. Justice Rose added:

"In the present case it seems to me manifest that there has been a general scheme and much money spent, and that the seat can no longer be held by the respondent."

Nine of the operators were reported by the judges as guilty, among them "Cap." Sullivan and Sim Hewitt. They were not punished. One "Cap." Sullivan is in the employ of the Government.

Pritchett Was There

The election trial, however, did not touch upon the ballot box stuffing, the switching and spoiling in the interests of Mr. Dryden. On this subject John G. Pritchett, a machinist who operated in the other constituencies, has made a confession. Pritchett was a member of the Liberal Association of London, and was an expert. He swears in an affidavit given on December 29th, 1899:

"From my experience in the various elections I formed the opinion that elections could be more easily won by manipulation of the ballots than by buying votes."

For the South Ontario election Pritchett, owing to his experience, was called in by John O'Gorman to "help to elect Mr. Dryden." In Toronto he swears he saw Alexander Smith, the chief Government organizer, who sent him on to Whitby. From Whitby Smith despatched him to Port Perry to meet Threlkeld, another organizer, who was to introduce him to the Deputy Returning Officers. At Port Perry he was given the names of some of these officials. One of them he educated in the art of "spoiling" ballots. "He practiced it a while," says Pritchett, "and said he would try it again at home. He left me saying he would do a few."

Instructions in Fraud

The "spoiling of ballots" is thus described by Pritchett:

"So often as a deputy wishes to spoil a ballot he selects one properly marked on behalf of the other party and while looking at it and holding it he makes a mark or scroll upon it with a bit of lead secured under the thumb nail of his right hand. Any mark will suit his purpose, for he himself is to be the judge whether or not it spoils the vote."

Pritchett conducted his educational work at Port Perry, and says he was sent by James Vance, a third organizer, to Myrtle and to Pickering. At Pickering he met a Mr. Richardson, a Government official, to whom, as he was to be a deputy returning officer, "I had explained the methods of manipulation." "We agreed," adds Pritchett in his affidavit, "he could easily handle ten in his division!" Subsequently, at Oshawa, an official whom he had interviewed at Myrtle came in under orders for instructions.

"I showed him," he says, "how to spoil and slip ballots. He practiced it and succeeded very well. He said he would keep at it until election day, and would do all he could."

Preston Was There

Pritchett swears that W. T. R. Preston, formerly Legislative Librarian, and now Immigration Commissioner in England, was present. He says he got from Mr. Preston money, which he distributed for bribery—\$2 per head—and that Mr. Alex. Smith paid him for his services.

Ballot-Stuffing in West Huron

West Huron was passed over to the Ross machine in the Federal bye-election of February 21st, 1899, and ballot-box stuffing was practiced. The frauds were discovered from the figures. In No. 3, Goderich, the Conservatives usually have a majority, but this time 60 voted and only 32 were counted. In No. 4, Colborne, 40 voted, and only 30 were counted. Investigation into the crime was begun at Ottawa, but was stopped by the Government. John G. Pritchett swears that he was employed to teach ballot-box stuffing, spoiling and switching, and that young men were brought to him by the dozen to learn how to cheat for the Government.

Corruption for Ross

The provincial election in West Huron was more noted for its corruption than for its ballot box stuffing. The trial took place in June, 1899. Hon. J. T. Garrow, Minister without Portfolio in the Ross Government, was the candidate.

It was proven that Alex. Smith, J. J. Treikeld, Walter Vanstone, Jas. Vance, Cap. Sullivan, J. T. Linklater, etc., and a host of other organizers were present. The constituency was mapped off into divisions, and an organizer, with assistants, was placed at each point. "Cap." Sullivan, who is an official under Hon. E. J. Davis in the Crown Lands Department, went by the name of "Roberts." His proceedings and those of Linklater formed the chief feature of the judicial enquiry. Peter Dears, junr., swears that he attended Sullivan, alias "Roberts," at Wingham, and took him to persons whose names were on a list supplied to the party. The persons were offered bribes to vote for Garrow—at the rate of \$2 per head.

Linklater, according to Theophilus Finnan, paid \$2, and sometimes as high as \$4, for votes.

The seat was vacated before all the facts came out.

Sullivan disappeared. Linklater was paid \$100 a month to keep out of the way.

Hon. J. T. Garrow has been appointed to a judgeship by the Ottawa Government.

Ministers Send the Machine

Before the North Waterloo frauds commenced, Hon. J. M. Gibson and Hon. E. J. Davis visited the constituency and promised to send in the machine.

Simon Snider, Vice-President of the North Waterloo Reform Association, testified in court:

"Hon. J. M. Gibson and Hon. E. J. Davis, on the 11th of April in a meeting at the Walper House for the purpose of allaying some party differences, promised in speeches to send speakers and organizers into the riding to help the Liberals in the coming election."

When the contest opened the "organizers" promised by the Ministers attended as agreed.

Education in Fraud

The candidates were Mr. Lackner (Conservative) and Mr. Breithaupt. Two courses of procedure were pursued by the machine. One was the manipulating of the ballots, the other the bribing of the electors.

For the manipulation of the ballots special experts were introduced. A R. Shantz testifies that he was poll clerk at No 2, Berlin. He was taken by one Wildfong to Thomas Lewis of London, who was an organizer. He says:

"Lewis sat down and proceeded to tell me what was to take place. He said they proposed to pay \$5 for every ballot spoiled or switched. He took up a piece of paper and put a piece of lead into his thumb and showed us how to pick the ballot up so that when seen it was a spoiled ballot. He showed me how to switch ballots also and said

they would be worth the same. He said he could not pay for any more than 20, so that \$100 was the limit a man might make.

"Wildfong told me Harry Cummings was in it."

Protected by the Government

Shantz proceeds to say that those officers who committed frauds would be protected by the Government.

"Lewis said we would be protected from trouble and that 'they' would protect us. I asked Lewis as to what would be done if there was a recount. He said we would have too large a majority for a recount."

In North Waterloo the machine provided officers with little bottles of cement with which to fix bits of pencil under the thumb nail for ballot spoiling purposes.

Shantz acted at No. 2, Berlin, at which Harry Cummings was deputy. The four votes were spoiled and 21 were switched.

Minister Davis Interferes

With respect to Cummings John McDougall, the returning officer, testifies that he had dismissed him, but that Hon. E. J. Davis insisted upon his reinstatement as deputy. He says:

"Hon. E. J. Davis asked me why I did this, and further said 'If that boy was your son how would you feel if he was put on and then taken off again.' It was after that I reappointed Cummings but not for that reason."

This was the second interference by Mr. Davis in the fraudulent election. The first was when he promised to send in organizers. The frauds were proven to have been widespread. By the court Cummings and Wildfong were found guilty; but they were not sentenced for two years and then they escaped. The guarantee of protection given by the Government agent, was observed.

Brought Home by the Machine

In its judgment the court said:

"The control and management of the campaign was taken out of local hands by the witness Smith, representing the Reform Association. He and those associated with him sought and obtained outside skilled assistance, and it was through them that Lewis came into the riding. He came and remained, and was throughout actively engaged, as I find, in working in the respondent's interest, with the knowledge and approval and upon some understanding with the witnesses Smith and Vance, and was one of those associated with Smith in effecting the respondent's election."

Thus the responsibility was brought home to headquarters.

\$50,000 Spent by the Government

Corruption was also practiced on an elaborate scale. Henry Shantz swears that Lewis engaged him to buy votes at \$5 per head. Lewis said to him:

"I believe you're afraid you won't get the money. We have \$20,000, and we have \$30,000 more to get—and the money came from the Government. The money was right on the table in two big bunches. It was paper money. \$5, \$10 and \$20 so far as I saw."

"Lewis" he added "offered to give us \$5 a vote; we could give the voters what we liked." A large number of persons testified to the bribery. Among them was one Albert Bossard. Bossard was a hotel keeper, and was engaged to distribute the cash. He said (Globe, Sept. 23rd, 1899) "That he got \$500, with further sums, to spend over the bar."

It was proven that "organizers" permeated the constituency and that money flowed freely. While the seat was vacated no punishments for corruption were sought by the Government.

Rewarded for Bribing

Bossard, who was introduced to Simon Snyder, the President of the Reform Association by Mr. Devitt, the license inspector, as "a man who might be useful,"

received an extension of his liquor license from three months to a year, and was afterwards given a license at Penetanguishene. The license franchise is thus used by the machine.

The West Elgin Horror

Crime was employed by the Government in the carrying of West Elgin. Mr. Macnish, the Government candidate, confessed on June 26, 1889, as follows:

1. That a large number of persons were especially sent into the constituency by men working on behalf of the Liberal party for the express purpose of taking part on Mr. Macnish's behalf in the election held January 12th, 1899, and we believe that fraudulent and corrupt means were used by some of such persons to secure his election.
2. That some of the said persons illegally and without authority acted as deputy returning officers at the said election and in at least three cases so acted in the names of reputable local men, having, under assumed names, been introduced to the returning officer by local agents of Macnish.
3. That in many of the polling sub-divisions of the riding there were grave irregularities connected with the return of the ballot boxes and their contents, the voting, and the counting of the ballots thereat.
4. That there were large numbers of persons brought into the riding for the express purpose of personating legitimate voters, and assisted by some of Mr. Macnish's local supporters such persons did personate qualified voters in voting for Mr. Macnish.
5. That the declared number of votes for Mr. Macnish largely exceeded the number of bona fide votes cast for him.
6. That a large number of ballots cast for Mr. McDiarmid were in some nefarious and corrupt manner manipulated, whereby the result of the election was rendered doubtful, and in this connection the voting at Shedden and Middlemarch and in several divisions in St. Thomas, where said strangers so acted as deputy returning officers, merits special mention.
7. That there are good reasons to believe that there are many specific and well authenticated cases where agents of Mr. Macnish concealed at their homes some of those strangers, who there paid large sums of money to electors to induce them to vote for him.
8. That Mr. Macnish will forthwith deliver to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly his resignation as a member thereof for the said electoral district.

Witness:

(Sgd.) DONALD MACNISH.

Sgd.) A. B. AYLESWORTH.

Beginning of the Frauds

The election was opened by Mr. G. W. Ross who delivered speeches in the constituency, announcing that he was bent upon "building up Ontario." Four other cabinet ministers participated. Then Mr. W. T. R. Preston, who had been Government librarian, entered the riding accompanied by Alex. Smith, James Vance, and a number of organizers, including Cap. Sullivan and D. F. Macdonald, Government officials, and many persons unknown. Mr. Preston spoke at St. Thomas and said of the machinists:

"Not a man among them but has come here openly and at his own expense and out of the love of the cause of good government. When this election is over our opponents will not be able to put a finger upon any act of wrong doing."

After the election Mr. Preston telegraphed Mr. Macnish as follows:

"Toronto, January 12th, 1899.

"DONALD MACNISH, St. Thomas.

"Heartiest congratulations. Sorry to the bottom of my heart I cannot be with you to-night.

"To be supported by such a noble army of workers, should make you the proudest man in Ontario. Shake hands with the boys for me, and hug the members of the much-abused threshing machine for Auld Lang Syne

"PRESTON."

Mr. Preston was on the following day appointed by the Federal Government Immigration Commissioner to England at a salary of \$3,000 a year and expenses. His salary has since been increased to \$5,000.

Discovery of the Frauds

The figures of the election surprised the people of West Elgin. On enquiry it was found that at one polling place, No. 6, Southwold, 104 voters had voted for MacDiarmid, but that only 85 had been counted. At No. 4, Southwold, 84 swore they had voted; but only 42 had been counted. At No. 7, St. Thomas, 91 had voted, but only 80 had been counted, while there were 36 more than usual counted for MacNish. This sort of thing prevailed throughout the riding. In addition, the bribery had been general, and bogus deputy returning officers had been employed under assumed names.

One officer was Duncan Bole, who operated as R. B. Stafford. He was a Government fishery officer and immigration agent, brought by the machine from the Sault. At his polling place 84 electors voted for Mr. MacDiarmid, and only 42 were counted for that candidate. Proceedings were entered against him, but the Government refused to prosecute, burned the incriminating ballots, and eventually got him off.

Another was Martin Cahill, who operated at No. 11, St. Thomas, as Albert S. Montgomery. He committed frauds, and escaped through the burning of the ballots and the refusal of the Government to prosecute.

Still another stranger acted at No. 4, St. Thomas, under the name of Stratford. He committed fraud, and was not pursued. Thomas Coleman introduced the alleged "Stratford" to the sheriff for appointment. Coleman has since been appointed License Inspector by the Government.

John G. Pritchett acted under the name of Marshall B. Johnston at No. 6, Southwold. He has taken an affidavit declaring that he was employed to go in and commit frauds, and that he "slipped" nineteen ballots, thus producing a majority for MacNish, when that candidate was really in a minority. Pritchett was paid for his services; also \$100 a month to remain out of the country until the trouble had blown over.

Burning the Ballots

When the frauds were discovered the ballots were the chief evidence against the machine. These were burned in the Parliament buildings in advance of legal proceedings. One of the officers who took part in the "accidental burning" of the testimony was James Robertson. His salary as messenger was \$500 a year before the ballots were burned. It has since been raised to \$600 by the Government.

Escape of the Guilty

No punishments have been inflicted. All the guilty parties have escaped. In order to aid in the escape, the Government appointed a commission to enquire into the election. This commission was restricted to an investigation of the acts of deputy returning officers. It discovered that there had been irregularities, but found no one guilty.

Rewards All Round

The Government has rewarded persons connected with the election as follows:

W. T. R. Preston, who managed the election, Immigration Commissioner in England, \$3,000 a year at first, \$5,000 a year now.

D. F. Macdonald, organizer, re-appointed Forest Ranger and inspector of Timber Limits.

Thos. Coleman, who introduced a Deputy Returning Officer to Sheriff, appointed License Inspector.

James Robertson, who burned the ballots by mistake, given a raise of \$100 a year in his salary.

SMASH THE MACHINE

Cost of the Frauds

The public accounts give the cost of the frauds as follows :

1899—New Elections.....	\$ 5,570 81
Election trials	739 63
1900—Elections	1,908 07
Election trials	1,984 27
West Elgin Commission	7,374 18
1901—Elections	1,572 94

Total..... \$19,149 90

Operations in London

The machine also operated in the last London mayoralty election. It stuffed nearly all of the ballot-boxes, and one of its agents, Norton, was committed to the Central Prison through the action of the municipal authorities.

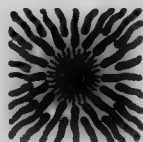
Smash the Machine

The perpetrators of these outrages are at large. They are protected by the Government. They are even rewarded for robbing the people.

While the machine lives it will prosecute its nefarious work.

The people ought to destroy it. They ought to insist upon British liberty. They ought to

Smash the Machine



A Poor Excuse

Unfounded Claims that the People Have Been Favored

In reply to the charge that it has encroached upon municipal revenues, the Government has put forward a claim that it has given large sums of money to each county as a favour to relieve it of expenses that would otherwise fall upon the people.

The response to this is made clear from the Government defence, namely, its campaign pamphlet. On page 111 the amount of money it has received is set forth as follows:

From Dominion Government.....	\$ 50,024,865
From Crown Lands.....	35,051,835
From Liquor Licenses (taken from the municipalities).....	6,381,147
From Succession Duties (taken upon estates).....	6,500,802
Revenue from Prisons.....	2,584,735
Revenue from Educational Institutions.....	1,520,215

\$102,063,599

No less than \$102,063,599 has been derived by the Government in revenue from the people. There are 2,000,000 inhabitants in Ontario. The Government has thus had \$50 per head.

In its campaign book it gives the amount it has spent in each county. The following table deals with each county. The first column of figures shows the population of each in 1899 according to the municipal statistics. The second shows how much the Government says it has spent in each county during thirty years. The third shows how much at \$50 per head each county was entitled to receive:—

Population.	Received.	Paid in at \$50 per head.
Brant.....	\$ 768,232	\$ 1,672,750
Bruce.....	827,679	2,944,750
Carleton.....	1,181,558	5,280,150
Dufferin.....	192,509	1,063,350
Dundas.....	282,210	948,850
Durham.....	533,221	1,382,800
Elgin.....	833,909	2,053,200
Essex.....	803,209	2,798,700
Frontenac.....	944,706	1,981,800
Glengary.....	310,171	970,400
Grenville.....	351,812	955,600
Grey.....	927,157	3,232,950
Haldimand.....	469,735	1,047,150
Halton.....	401,853	972,450
Hastings.....	890,269	2,819,350
Huron.....	991,083	3,039,400
Kent.....	834,340	2,683,350

UNFOUNDED CLAIMS

Population.	Received.	Paid in at 95c per head.	
Lambton.....	53,179	500,589	2,658,950
Lanark.....	35,866	611,730	1,793,300
Lennox and Addington...	23,042	492,107	1,152,100
Lincoln.....	29,899	716,217	1,494,950
Middlesex.....	91,171	1,890,051	4,558,550
Norfolk.....	28,491	573,403	1,424,550
Northumberland.....	33,873	675,865	1,693,650
Ontario.....	40,593	893,998	2,029,650
Oxford.....	47,293	853,281	2,364,650
Peel.....	20,738	470,758	1,036,800
Perth.....	48,544	833,043	2,427,200
Peterboro'	34,469	547,281	1,723,450
Prescott.....	24,673	237,659	1,233,650
Prince Edward.....	17,085	283,567	854,250
Russell.....	16,555	185,185	827,750
Renfrew.....	49,838	600,496	2,491,950
Simcoe.....	78,141	1,354,310	3,907,050
Victoria.....	29,612	618,949	1,480,600
Waterloo.....	52,367	755,133	2,618,350
Welland.....	29,983	602,480	1,499,150
Wellington.....	55,371	1,026,568	2,768,550
Wentworth.....	78,185	1,625,478	3,909,250
York.....	251,273	4,587,278	12,563,650
Algoma.....	12,745	617,714	637,250
Muskoka.....	18,075	339,012	603,750
Nipissing.....	14,451	263,829	722,550
Parry Sound.....	15,452	304,443	772,600
Thunder Bay.....	6,603	310,239	330,150
Manitoulin.....	6,176	72,234	308,800
Haliburton.....	5,767	112,299	288,450
Rainy River.....	7,097	245,110	354,850

It will be noticed that the Government, according to its own argument, has given back far less than the people of each county have paid to it.



MR. J. P. WHITNEY

Ontario's Leader in this Historical Crisis

The leader of the Conservative party of Ontario, Mr. James Pliny Whitney, has been before the people of the Province as a member of the Legislature for 14 years. During that period he has devoted himself with energy, courage and ability to the public business. He has been constant in his attendance upon the sittings of the Legislature at every session. He has put new life into the Provincial Conservative party. He has shown a vigor and straightforwardness in dealing with political issues that are refreshing. He has proved himself not a man of words only, but prepared to carry out in deeds the political principles he professes. No one seriously doubts that in a few weeks he will be Premier of his native Province. Having inspired confidence while in Opposition as a man of his word, no doubt is felt of his giving to Ontario what he is pledged to introduce—clean, honest, vigorous, intelligent Government.

His Early Career

Mr. Whitney is of English extraction. His forebears emigrated to this continent in 1640, and his father, the late Richard L. Whitney, settled on a farm in the county of Dundas. There young Whitney was born in 1843. As a lad he assisted in the active work of the farm, and though subsequently entering the profession of law, is no stranger to agricultural pursuits. He was sent to the county town of Cornwall, in Stormont, to complete his education at the famous Grammar School, one of the oldest and best in the Province, where so many prominent men like Sir John Beverley Robinson, Chief Justice McLean, and Chancellor Vankoughnet were trained. On leaving school young Whitney began the study of law in the office of Macdonald & MacLennan, the senior member of which firm was the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, Premier of Ontario. The young law student attached himself to the political cause of his chief, and became a devoted follower and friend of that able statesman. Although the bulk of Sandfield Macdonald's supporters in the first Ontario Legislature were Conservatives, Sandfield himself, as every one knows, was a Liberal of the school of Robert Baldwin, and his was a Coalition Ministry. Young Whitney was of the same political stock, but when Sandfield Macdonald's Reform supporters deserted him and drove him into the arms of the Conservative party, many of his personal admirers followed him there, and young Whitney thus became closely identified with that party, to which in after life he has continuously and loyally adhered. The fact that Sandfield Macdonald lost office and died a disappointed man in Opposition, would naturally have no effect upon those of his personal supporters whose fidelity and disinterestedness were to be counted upon. After the death of Sandfield Macdonald in 1872, Mr. Whitney, being neither a time-server nor an office-hunter, attached himself even more closely than before to the Conservatives, who were soon out of office both in the Province and in the Dominion, with no favors to bestow and no prospects of success to allure.

Law and Politics in Dundas

Mr. Whitney was called to the bar Easter term, 1876, and in the following year,

having married Miss Alice Park, daughter of the late William Park, a well-known citizen of Cornwall, he returned to his native county of Dundas, and began the practice of law at Morrisburg, where he still resides. That his earliest political activities brought him into association with as distinguished and clear-sighted a statesman as Sandfield Macdonald was a fortunate circumstance. The policy of the first Premier of Ontario was that of economy, strict integrity, and progressiveness in provincial affairs. He believed in leaving party politics as far as possible for the Federal arena. Upon the ideas he advanced and the cash surplus he accumulated, his so-called Liberal successors lived for many a year. That he was a Liberal in the Ontario sense to-day, is inconceivable. A few years ago in the Legislature, when some one calmly claimed Sandfield Macdonald as a Liberal, Mr. Whitney quickly started to his feet and said:

"Mr. Speaker, it is one of the most extraordinary things I have ever heard, that members of the party which hounded the distinguished statesman to his grave now claim him for one of themselves. Having had a personal acquaintance with Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, I can say that the former Premier of this Province had not a single aspiration in common with the Reform party of to-day."

Elected to the Legislature

In the county of Dundas, as the years passed on, Mr. Whitney took an increasingly prominent part in politics on the Conservative side, and when the Ontario Legislature was dissolved in 1886, and a general election announced for December 30th, he was selected as the party candidate. Opposed to him was the redoubtable Dr. Chamberlain, now in the Provincial service, like so many other ex-M.P.'s rejected by the people. The contest was a close one, and the Conservative candidate found himself behind by 25 votes. But it soon appeared that even this small majority was the result of bribery. An election trial resulted, and Dr. Chamberlain was unseated for bribery by agents. A bye-election followed on January 31st, 1888, and Mr. Whitney was triumphantly returned. Dundas has ever since elected its clever son by larger majorities, and will soon, as the reward of its fidelity and foresight, have the satisfaction of being represented by the Premier of the Province. With characteristic courage and regard for clean elections, Mr. Whitney prosecuted several of the offenders in the election of 1886, and three or four of them were convicted and fined.

Reforms the Anti-Liberty Law

Out of his own experience grew his agitation in the Legislature that cases of flagrant bribery in elections should be punishable by imprisonment as well as fine. Session after session he fought to have his bill on this subject adopted, but a solid Government majority voted it down. Finally, observing that public opinion was strongly behind the member for Dundas, the Government swallowed their former course, partially adopted his views, and incorporated them in the law. With the usual pettiness which has marked so much of the Government's policy, they declined to accept Mr. Whitney's bill, but adopted one of their own on exactly the same lines. They could thus say that the reform was not Mr. Whitney's, but their's!

Another episode in his early political experience, of special importance to-day, was his exposure of the Government's trickery on the temperance question. In 1886 the Scott Act was in force in Dundas county. Mr. Whitney, being willing to give temperance legislation a trial, had supported and voted for the Scott Act. But like thousands of others, he lost confidence in its effectiveness, owing to the bad faith of the Government. He found—and afterwards proved in the Legislature—that the Scott Act was used as a political weapon, was enforced or not enforced as the exigencies of Grit politics required. A return of convictions in Dundas presented to the Legislature showed how the dodge was worked. It disgusted the local temperance workers, and helped to elect Mr. Whitney. To-day, after the lapse of fourteen years, the arch-humbler of the temperance cause, Mr. Ross, who by loud profession and clever jugglery, kept the temperance people quiet for so many years, has been obliged to show himself in the open as a mere party wire-puller, possessing not even the courage of conviction. In 1902 Mr. Ross's temperance friends at last know where he is.

Elected Conservative Leader

Mr. Whitney had been nine years in the Legislature when he was unanimously

chosen leader to succeed Mr. Marter who resigned. The member for Dundas, during these nine years, had been steadily making his way as an industrious and able representative. He had been noted as a faithful critic of public business; had made frequent vigorous speeches, but with well-known modesty of disposition had used none of the arts of self-advertisement to push himself to the front. He had become a close personal friend of the Conservative leader, Sir William Meredith (now Chief Justice) and for that gentleman's rectitude of character, and chivalrous regard for the amenities and the duties of public life had evinced the warmest admiration.

Demonstration in Dundas

Upon Mr. Whitney's selection as Conservative leader at the close of the session of 1896 he was given an evidence of the respect and regard felt for him in his native county by men of all shades of opinion. On returning to Morrisburg a public demonstration, strictly non-political, took place, the presiding chairman being Mr. J. H. Mickle, a prominent Reformer. In the address presented to the new leader occurred the following passage:

"Your course has been closely watched by your many friends in Eastern Ontario, and it is with pleasure they seek this opportunity to express the high esteem in which you are held, not only as a public man, but also as a citizen of the old Eastern District which has given so many prominent men to Canada."

This was satisfactory testimony coming from this community where he was best known. For twenty years he had lived in Dundas, and his whole career, both as a citizen and a politician, was known to the people in whose midst he had resided. The tribute was therefore as sincere as it must have been gratifying.

The new leader at once set himself to the onerous duties of the post. The general elections were scarcely a year and a half distant. He was still unknown to a great number of the people. He at once began to define his position in public affairs, and to reveal his own personality.

The Election of 1898

The campaign preceding the contest of March, 1898, was one of the most memorable in the history of Ontario. Mr. Whitney addressed many meetings throughout the Province, about 100 in number, from Glengarry to Algoma. This arduous political work, in all weathers, over great distances, called for physical exertions and mental strain which only those who realize the magnitude of the task can appreciate. It laid the foundations of the success which Mr. Whitney subsequently scored and it established his reputation as a man of determined courage, industry and principle. He warned the people against the consequences of giving a party already 27 years in office another term of power. The political humiliations of the past four years show how true the warning was. There is every reason to believe that the people heeded the warning. If the machinery of the law had not been corruptly and systematically violated the Government would not have survived by the narrow majority it did. At the dissolution Mr. Whitney went to the country with 24 followers in a house of 84 members. He emerged from the struggle at the head of a party of 43. It was a magnificent personal triumph. For a leader of only two years' standing it was a remarkable result. The Ministry's majority of 20 to 25 was practically wiped out.

The Legislature of 1898-1902

Mr. Whitney had now to show that he could lead his party through one of the most trying ordeals that befall any set of men,—a period of undeserved defeat, of unrestrained abuse by their opponents, of unblushing corruption by a desperate Government. Like hungry wolves the Ministerial forces, seeing their enjoyment of patronage about to disappear, fought to retain it. They resorted to an elaborate system of fraud to carry the bye elections that ensued. By these means they gained a very few seats, enough nominally to justify retention of the spoils of office, but at a price to the good name of Ontario, and the Liberal party which is vastly deplored by all honest men. During these years Mr. Whitney has continued his vigorous, unceasing warfare against the nefarious practices of worn-out politicians. In return he has been subjected to that old and familiar species of attack which all the Conservative

leaders from Sir John Macdonald down has had to bear from their opponents—persistent personal vilification. His party have rallied round him and loyally supported him. During the session of 1899, as a recognition of his strenuous and unselfish political labors, the Conservative members of the Legislature presented him with a magnificent gold watch, chain and signet ring as a token of their personal regard, and during the recent session of 1902, after a fresh campaign of low abuse from the Grit groundlings, he was the guest at a great banquet in Toronto given in his honour and attended by the Conservative leaders of the Dominion and the Province of Quebec, and by over 300 prominent Conservatives from all sections of Ontario. Mr. Whitney made a splendid speech to this gathering, full of vitality, political insight, and encouragement to lovers of good government.

The Man and His Views

In politics as in social life Mr. Whitney is known as a man of his word. He is straightforward to the point of bluntness and what he says he believes. It is refreshing both in public and private life to deal with one who knows his own mind and is not afraid to speak it. Even by those who may not altogether agree with his view of the question, his position on the Prohibition and Referendum Bill has called forth generally expressed praise. Mr. J. W. Flavell, one of the most earnest temperance men in the Province and a prominent Methodist said:

"I give unequivocal support to Mr. Whitney in the position he has taken, that the remedy applicable to the present situation is a further restriction of licenses and the fearless administration of the law. I am glad to know that we have in public life as a leader of one of the great parties in this Province a man who is not afraid to state his honest convictions without hedging upon an important measure."

Mr. Whitney believes in a public man letting the people know where he stands on a subject, be the political consequences what they may and as he has said he thinks a man should be "honest enough to be bold, bold enough to be honest." Mr. Whitney is a militia man and wears a medal for five months' active service on the frontier in 1866. He is an Imperialist of the school of Sir John Macdonald and staunchly Canadian in his sympathies and aims.



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